The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 1, 1901.

The Week.

A newspaper correspondent, writing with becoming awe from the President's home in Canton, describes the way in which he is there engaged in "working out some of the broad policies of his Administration." Trade and the tariff are, it is admitted, giving Mr. McKinley as much concern as anything ever causes his Olympian calm, and he does not quite know how the reciprocity treaties are to be got through the Senate. However, he has struck out the happy thought of presenting reciprocity as "a national policy," and so overcoming the "tendency to regard it as a local issue for each Congressional district." This is a great truth, but the very men who will receive it with guffaws are those Congressmen who have learned from Mr. McKinley how to make a protective tariff. What was the McKinley Bill but the local issues of 164 Congressional districts log-rolled into one act, and passed triumphantly over the 142 votes of the representatives of the Congressional districts which had no part in the spoil? Every one who had a decrepit mill or a losing manufacture rushed to Washington in 1890 and got McKinley to put something for that local issue in his bill. It was a monster aggregate of petty selfishness. That is what protection always is in its essence; and its beneficiaries cannot really be blamed now if they consider it very like apostasy in their teacher to have the President tell them at this late day that they ought to sink their "local issues" in the general good.

The question of reciprocity or possible free trade with Cuba has suddenly assumed great public importance, but there has never been a moment, since the war with Spain began, when it did not figure largely in the minds of influential persons and classes in this country. Two events have given it fresh interest at this time. One is the enlargement of the capital stock of the Sugar Refining Company, commonly called the Sugar Trust, by $15,000,000 of new cash subscriptions, which points to the acquisition of properties in Cuba for the production of sugar. The announcement of this addition to the capital of the company was accompanied by a published interview with Mr. H. O. Havemeyer, in which he said that an application would be made to Congress for the admission of raw sugar from Cuba free of duty, and that in his opinion the application would be successful. The other fact of immediate interest is the energetic protest issued by the domestic sugar producers, both beet and cane, against any such proceeding. We are not prepared to say that Mr. Havemeyer was too confident in his prediction that free sugar would win the fight at Washington, although it may not win the first battle. Of course, the beet-sugar and the cane-sugar interests of the United States will demand that the other protected interests make common cause with them.

One kind of arrangement to put inordinate gains in the treasury of the Sugar Trust would be to admit raw sugar free and to put a duty on refined. Another would be to admit sugar from Cuba free and to tax the article grown in other countries. Presumably the bulk of the sugar industry of Cuba will be in American hands before long, the Trust having the lion's share. To admit the sugar of Cubans free and to tax that of the other West Indies, would make the Trust rich beyond the dreams of avarice, and would ruin the British islands, with the possible exception of Jamaica and Barbados, which are not wholly dependent on sugar. The sugar islands of the Lesser Antilles are at the point of starvation all the time, and this blow would finish them. Of course, there is a middle ground between Cuban sugar free and the present duty of about two cents per pound. There have been hints at Washington that the President would recommend a reduction of 20 or 25 per cent. in favor of Cuba. All the principles which govern the traffic apply to a reduced duty as well as to an entire repeal. The domestic producers will oppose the reduction as stoutly as they will oppose the repeal, and it remains to be seen how much the Administration really desires to favor Cuban interests. The latter have the suspicion that reciprocity will be kept dangling before them just beyond their reach, as a lure for annexation, and that the pecuniary temptation will eventually overcome what remains of the desire for independence in the island.

Alone of all United States officials, the judges in the Philippine Islands omit the oath to support the Constitution, for which is substituted an oath to maintain the laws of the island. The fact has excited no little wondering comment, which has stirred Commissioner Taft to the explaining point. The explanation is characteristic. To be sure, he says, the Philippine Islands may or may not be under the Constitution, but then it is eminently unfair to say that they are not; for if, as it appears, they are not under certain clauses, they are probably under others; and in any case the islands are under Congress, which is under the Constitution. Thus, almost axiomatically, is the mouth of the caviller stopped. But, continued Commissioner Taft, these matters are dark for the native intelligence. "The statement that the Constitution is in operation in these islands may thus mean one thing to one person and another thing to another. Why, therefore, introduce into an oath of office a form of statement which might lead to misconstruction?" This is very like demonstrative proof of the soundness of his decision, but to a man of Commissioner Taft's personal and legal attainments it must be a little humiliating to blanket the commission under which, presumably, he serves, and to talk about misconstruction, when, if he were not in official position, he might say manfully: "Of course, we make no Philippine official go through the hollow form of swearing to uphold a Constitution which, protecting neither him nor his people, does not even restrain his conquerors who are sworn to maintain it."

Aguinaldo is cutting up rough again. He refuses to urge any more insurrectionists to surrender, and signs himself "the prisoner of Malocan." "The prisoner of the Vatican" could not more studiously nourish and display a grievance. We shall look to see the Imperialist press come down heavy on him for this. He had been so "sensible," so much a "brave man accepting the inevitable," that he bade fair soon to be canonized in the Jingo calendar; but this latest nonsense of his marks him as a poor creature. Then there is Paterno, "the brain of the insurrection," and recent founder of that wonderful "Federal party" which was to coöperate with the Americans. What has the ungrateful beggar done but abandon that party! Of course, when the brains are out, the party dies, and Paterno is organizing a new one, yclept National, which takes for its platform ultimate independence of the Philippines, and proposes to nominate Aguinaldo for President! Paterno's true place is evidently in jail; and the censorship should at once be reestablished to keep back such news, so that the American Imperialistic editors may be free to denounce Lord Salisbury's monstrous proposal to destroy the last shred of Boer independence.

Persons in close touch with South American sentiment have been for some time predicting that the Pan-American Congress would never meet, as proposed, in Mexico next October. Chili's attitude, as revealed on Thursday, seems to clinch that prophecy. She insists upon having the programme of discussion definitely marked out beforehand, and upon ex-

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cluding from it any project of arbitration except for "future questions only." Otherwise, she plainly intimates, she will not send delegates to the Congress. If Chili remains aloof, it is probable that Argentina will also. On the other hand, Peru and Bolivia will not participate if Chili's demands are met. Thus, at best, the "Pan" of the Congress would be a very cracked utensil. We think that, even so, it could be made as useful as the first gathering of ten years ago, for that was of no use at all. The treaty of arbitration which was then agreed upon, and over which Mr. Blaine waxed so eloquent and the poet Whittier pathetic, was contemptuously killed by the Senate, and buried in its private graveyard of good treaties, without even a headstone to mark its last resting-place. All that could have been hoped for at Mexico was a certain amount of palaver leading no whither. The United States would have been glad to take part in a ceremony of nothing but empty gush, just to prove that the South American republics do love and trust us, in spite of the Monroe Doctrine and the Spanish war. Further to conciliate them graciously, we now speak of the Chilian note as a "bombshell" and also an "ultimatum," and say that Chili's attitude is "intolerable." She wants to pursue her own way and consult her own dignity; instead of imitating the United States in always leading "a sweet submissive life."

American protectionist newspapers will have a fine time making fun of the new German tariff. Think of a customs law filling a pamphlet of 167 pages, and containing no less than 918 special tariff groupings! Why, this is German metaphysics gone mad. The absurd measure also contains retaliatory clauses, and goes to work to hamper trade and increase the cost of living with a deliberate brutality known before only to the tariff laws of—the United States! That is the sting of the new tariff law, which appears to be aimed peculiarly at American products; it is copied almost ostentatiously after our legislation. Americans in business in Berlin express "keen disappointment" at the proposed new tariff rates. They say that American exports to Germany will suffer greatly. The duties on machinery are more than doubled; in the case of saws they are quadrupled; American woods are also "hard hit"; the rates on dynamos and motors and telephone and telegraph apparatus are pushed to dizzy heights. But what of this? Are we going to mind loss of business as long as we can see our ideas conquering? Germany has gone over to McKinley-tariff methods—that ought to be glory enough for us, even if our German export trade is killed.

The arrest of Col. Murillo on a German steamer in the port of Cartagena, despite his wrapping himself melodramatically in the German flag and claiming its protection, gives us Americans an opportunity to take a useful little lesson in international law. The Washington authorities have already intimated that there is nothing for the Germans to get excited about, since the arrest of Col. Murillo was legal, and his claimed right of asylum on a merchant ship something not recognized by international law. This is, in so far, a gratifying indication that our Department of State is now prepared to abandon the position rashly assumed by Mr. Blaine and Gen. Tracy in 1890. That was the year in which a political refugee from Guatemala, one Barrundia, was killed while resisting arrest on an American steamer in a Guatemalan port. The American Minister in that country, as well as the American Consul-General, advised the captain of the *Acapulco* that the arrest was legal; but, for this, Minister Mizner was severely censured and afterwards recalled by Mr. Blaine, while Commander Reiter of the war-ship *Ranger*, which was in port at the time, was publicly disgraced by Secretary Tracy for not interfering to prevent the Guatemalan authorities from making the arrest. Our readers will remember the immense stir which the affair made at the time. Mr. Blaine's argumentation on the law of the case was regarded as one of those curiosities of reasoning with which, as in the diplomatic correspondence about the Isthmian Canal and the seal fisheries, he delighted to befuddle the legal issue. His effort was regarded even by Lodge as in need of reinforcement, and that statesman proceeded to give it by gravely maintaining that international law did not really apply to so small a country as Guatemala. He said he had looked it up on the map and, as soon as he saw what a tiny bit of a nation it was, perceived the absurdity of supposing that a great republic like the United States would have to observe the law in its dealings with such a miniature one.

For many years Danish politics have shown the unique condition of a party remaining in power in spite of a steadily increasing majority against it in the popular house. Under the Estrup Ministry, the anger of the Opposition was annually aroused by the passing of provisional budgets, made necessary by the refusal of the Folkething to grant supplies in the regular way. Of late years both parties have shown a spirit of compromise, and now, when the Conservatives in the Folkething have dwindled to a bare half-dozen members, the King has finally consented to the formation of a Liberal Cabinet. The new Premier, Dr. Deuntzer, is a professor of law at the University of Copenhagen, and a man of marked ability, and in general the new Cabinet may be regarded as strong. The greatest surprise is undoubtedly the selection of Horup, the editor of *Politiken*, the leading organ of the extreme Left. It would seem as difficult for him to leave the Opposition as for the typical Irishman to cease to be "agin' the Government." The difficulty of his position is increased by the fact that he is associated with Alberti, his chief journalistic opponent. In more respects than one the new Danish Ministry would seem to realize the ideal agreement between the lion and the lamb, though in the present case it would be difficult to determine which is the lion and which the lamb. This event in Danish politics is of special interest to Americans, as the Ministry is reported, and with every appearance of truth, to be strongly in favor of the sale of the Danish West Indies to this country. While there is no question of rivalry between the Danish Agrarians and the planters of St. Thomas, the tendency of the peasant mind would be to prefer solid American dollars to uncertain West Indian crops.

Democratic delegates to the Alabama Constitutional Convention were chosen under a party pledge that negro disfranchisement should be accomplished without disfranchising a single white man, but as the session progresses the difficulty of carrying out the programme becomes increasingly apparent. Clear-headed men in Alabama see the danger and the injustice of the proposed course, and do not hesitate to make their views plain to all. It is evident that the logic of the advice of ex-Gov. Jones, who has spoken repeatedly for impartial restrictions upon the suffrage, and against removing from the negro a great incentive to improvement, is having its effect. Even Senator Morgan, from whom, in view of his frank and unblushing hostility to political equality for the negro, one does not expect enlightened views on this question, opposes the use in Alabama of the expedient of the "grandfather clause," adopted by Louisiana and North Carolina. He insists that "to make blood the medium of transmitting the electoral power is to uproot from its foundations the whole system of democratic government." In the discussion by the Convention, on Thursday, the opposition to an hereditary basis for the suffrage was strong and clear.

The attention paid to the mosquito since a member of his family became known as the purveyor, or "intermediate host," of malaria, has begun to be reflected in books and magazines. Few contributions to the subject possess greater scientific or popular interest than the article on yellow fever by Surgeon-General Sternberg in the *Popular Science Monthly* for July. Two things are here proved beyond the possibility of doubt:

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(1) That yellow fever may be communicated to human beings by mosquitoes; (2) that it cannot be communicated by contact of healthy persons with sick ones, or with the clothing or belongings of sick ones. The experiments to establish the latter fact, as described by Dr. Sternberg, were exhaustive and conclusive. They prove that all the elaborate steps taken and expense incurred to disinfect ships and their cargoes coming from ports where yellow fever has prevailed, or was suspected, have been utterly useless, since nobody could possibly take yellow fever from such a source, however much he might be exposed to it. It does not follow that quarantine is unnecessary against yellow fever, since a patient suffering from it may, on his arrival, be bitten by a mosquito which may afterwards bite other persons; but the disinfecting of ships and goods is superfluous. It is not yet proved that the mosquito is the only propagator of yellow fever, but the evidence is strong that the disease is communicated only by an intermediate host, and that the mosquito is the principal culprit.

It is a curious but well-authenticated fact that the hot, dry weather which lately parched and shrivelled corn, gave the wheat farmers of the northern corn belt a chance to gather in their entire crop untouched by dampness. Some wheat was doubtless hurt in the Dakotas. But the loss, running from one-fourth to one-third of the large crop which in early June was reckoned above seven hundred million bushels, was trivial. Even with a loss of twenty or thirty million bushels, the yield would still run far beyond the largest in our history. Nor is this huge production likely, as has happened at other times, to glut so suddenly the domestic markets as to force down prices to extreme low figures. On the contrary, Europe, whose own growing crops do not promise well, has bought here in such quantity as thus far to prevent any home accumulation. In April, wheat exports from the United States ran six million bushels beyond 1900; in May, there was an equal increase; in June last year's total was exceeded by four million. These were average gains of 50 to 100 per cent.; last week the shipments were exactly three times as great as they were a year ago, reaching a total never but once exceeded in any week of our history.

There is nothing surprising in Lord Salisbury's "pessimistic" speech in the Lords last week, when the Finance Bill was under discussion. That is his way of cheering up his party when it is in the doleful dumps. He has always revelled in cynicism, and rolled pessimism like a sweet morsel under his tongue. His plaint just now is national extravagance, which he thinks is awful, but cannot be checked. A "tide" of swollen expenditures is running, he says, and who is he to stem it? The idea that any especial obligation rests on him as leader of a great party and British Prime Minister, he evidently considers wholly irrelevant. His Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, is not so limply fatalistic. He lifts up his voice, in Parliament and out of it, to warn the English people against the lavish ways of their representatives in control of the public purse. In his recent speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach declared that if he were to listen to professional experts who came forward to tell the Government what it was absolutely necessary to spend, the Treasury would be gutted and the country ruined in a year. Of this kind of professional army and navy expert, Sir Michael said pungently that "he is always cocksure, he always differs from another expert, he is always expensive, and he is not always infallible."

Although, as Mr. Brodrick announced in the House of Commons on Thursday, the English Government cannot see its way clear to giving American rates of pay to its soldiers, the War Office has found it necessary to take a long step in the direction of the American pension system. As a result of the Boer war, an army order has been issued granting pensions to the widows and children of private soldiers killed in action. Hitherto no pensions of any kind have been given to such widows, no matter what the circumstances under which a soldier met his death. Now the pressure has become so great that the War Office has consented to a pension of five shillings a week to the widow of a private, which is increased slightly if there are children, and becomes ten shillings a week in the case of a non-commissioned officer's widow. Up to this time private charity and "patriotic funds" have always cared for the dependents of soldiers who lost their lives in a campaign, and Secretary of State after Secretary of State has declined to be responsible for finding the means for their support, although officers' widows have long been cared for. In pensions, as in other matters, it is often the first step which costs, and it will be interesting in the light of our American experience to see whether the British Government can stop with this concession, or whether the public appetite, whetted by this first taste, will make it necessary for other Secretaries to yield as gracefully as has Mr. Brodrick.

The bankruptcy proceedings held recently in the case of Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett contained an instructive revelation. Sir Ellis is well known to have been for years a pronounced Turkophile. The idea of England, or any civilized Power, interfering with the Sultan, on account of the Armenian massacres, was abhorrent to him. In the war between Greece and Turkey his sympathies were actively enlisted in behalf of the Turk. Well, in the course of his examination the other day by the Official Receiver, Mr. Grey, the following colloquy took place:

"Mr. Grey—Did you become acquainted with the Sultan?

"The Debtor—I have been received by the Sultan.

"Mr. Grey—And you had some personal influence with him?

"The Debtor—Only because I had always taken the side of the Turkish people.

"Mr. Grey—Did he promise you certain concessions?

"The debtor replied in the affirmative. When he found that his Australian properties were not realizing his expectations, he went to Turkey. Before doing so he entered into an agreement with the Exploration Company (limited), under which they were to work or dispose of any concessions he might acquire, and to pay him one-half of any profit which might accrue. When in Turkey he secured concessions relating to electric traction and lighting in Salonika and electric traction in Smyrna. These concessions were the first granted for the use of electricity in Turkey. Some delay occurred in obtaining the confirmation of the concessions, and it was not until September, 1899, that the Sultan published his *irade*."

This certainly leaves Sir Ellis looking as virtuously disinterested in his Turkish attitude as did Messrs. Dodson & Fogg in the Pickwick trial.

The Odessa correspondent of the London *Times* has given to that journal some facts about the completed Siberian railway which will serve to reassure timid Englishmen who have seen in this line a serious menace to English and Japanese interests in the East. For years past we have heard of the ease with which Russia could pour troops into Port Arthur or any other Eastern point near the completed railway. It now appears that, even under the most favorable circumstances, the journey from Moscow to Port Arthur will average twenty-eight days. Indeed, allowing for storms on Lake Baikal and ice on the Shilka and Amur during certain portions of the year, the railway officials will not guarantee arrival in Port Arthur from Moscow under a month and a half. How much longer it would take to make this trip if the line should be choked up by heavy troop trains no one can estimate, but it is plain enough that water transportation would still be the chief reliance should Russia become involved in a great war in the East. That there is considerable public dissatisfaction in Russia with this condition of affairs is only natural. Merchants and manufacturers and travellers generally are so impolite as to remember that a seven days' trip in trains *de luxe*, going at a rate of thirty-five miles an hour, was what the Government promised when it began this enormous and costly undertaking. The different outcome is largely due to the hasty and flimsy construction of the line, which will undoubtedly be improved as time goes on.

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THE MORAL OF PORTO RICO.

President McKinley's proclamation establishing free trade with Porto Rico is confined to the barest recital of the facts and of the authority under which he proceeds. Least said, soonest mended, he apparently thinks. Certainly neither he nor his party can be blamed for wishing to draw a veil over their last year's dealing with Porto Rico. "It is not the dealing I object to, but the shuffling," said witty Archbishop Magee, when Lord Salisbury was explaining how he proposed to "deal" with the temperance question; and so might have said an observer of the extraordinary backing and filling of the Republicans in Congress when they attempted to legislate for Porto Rico.

But we do not mean to traverse that weary round again. It would be easy, by citing names and dates, and speeches and messages, to make the defenders of the Administration bolt from every hole in which they now take refuge. But what would be the use? They would only scurry into another. A single one of their glib misrepresentations, however, it is worth while to expose in passing. They now coolly assert that the whole affair turned on the ability of the island to raise a sufficient revenue from internal taxes. Until that was demonstrated, it would have been madness to make sea-borne trade free. Now, in reply to this, it is not necessary to show that it is pure afterthought, as far as the President's recommendation was concerned; that this explanation breaks its teeth on the fact that the first bill of the Republican Ways and Means Committee of the House provided for free trade; or that the real motives and movers in the denial of free trade are perfectly well known. It is enough to point to the terms of the act of Congress. That instrument recites that "in no event"—that is, self-sustaining island revenues or not—should the establishment of free trade be delayed beyond March 1, 1902. That marks the measure of concession which an indignant public opinion wrung from a protection-ridden Congress.

We do not recall the melancholy exhibition made in that affair by the President and his party for any purpose except the single one of driving home the legal and moral lessons which it contains. In their "serious departure from right principles," as ex-President Harrison called their Porto Rican act, we see the more clearly what the right principles are from which we should never depart. One of them is that liberty, including equal property rights of all citizens, cannot be left to the benevolence of an arbitrary ruler, however well-meaning, or put at the disposal of a Congress, however well-intentioned. We need the assurances and the safeguards of charter and Constitution. As Guizot said at the time the Spaniards were trying to protect themselves against Queen Isabella by a Constitution: "The great use of a Constitution is to make good sovereigns out of bad men and women." He meant that a written guarantee of personal rights and immunities removed the subject from the perils of executive whim or of the caprice of Cortes and Congress. It was such bulwarked liberties that we supposed that we and all men under the American flag enjoyed in the specific pledges of our Constitution; and their temporary denial to the Porto Ricans was a blow not merely to our inherited conception of law and justice, but to our sense of civic security. If their fundamental rights could thus be trampled upon, which of ours were safe?

The Porto Rican intrigue of 1900 also served to uncover the essentially selfish and inhuman principle which lies coiled in the doctrine of protection. The revelation was, no doubt, a surprise to President McKinley himself. He is a kindly man, and to his overflowing benevolence it appeared the most natural thing in the world, as well as a "plain duty," to grant the Porto Ricans a free market for their products. But he did not reckon with the spirit of inveterate selfishness and greed which, under the name of protection, he himself had done so much to foster and make insolent. He appealed to humanity. But the men who had learned of him that no argument was worth while which did not reach the pocket, snapped their fingers at his recommendation of free trade. As they openly boasted, they swarmed to the White House and "read the riot act" to the President, whom they compelled to retreat ignominiously and in shamefaced silence from his own brave words. He must have realized then, if never before, what a dangerous thing it is to give to one class the right to tax their fellow-citizens for their own profit. Such a privilege, swollen by long exercise into a sense of vested right, would stop at no extreme of cruelty or oppression, Mr. McKinley then saw, to preserve its money-making power intact. And it was only the uprising of an angry people, amazed at such an effrontery of selfishness, which frightened the tariff beneficiaries into agreeing to relax their clutch to the extent that we see it done to-day.

Nor can we leave this subject without saying that the Porto Rican legislation is a supreme illustration of President McKinley's method. Secretary Long has been praising him recently for his wonderful success in "getting along with Congress." In this respect, the Secretary said, and with a grave face, so far as the reporters depose, McKinley was greater than Washington or Lincoln. Mr. Long left it an open question, apparently, whether Washington had not more personal courage, or Lincoln a more penetrating intellect and a greater gift of winged speech, but in the art of "getting along with Congress" McKinley overtopped them both. The Porto Rico case shows how the thing is done. Take a moral position, urge Congress in the most explicit and moving terms to come to it, but if it will not—what then? Say, "Here I stand, God help me. I can do no other"? No, only keep still, allow yourself to be driven by Congress, offer not one word of explanation or justification, and prepare some more moral sentiments to be in like manner abandoned when the time comes.

A REPUBLICAN SHORTER CATECHISM.

Swift, in one of the letters which he wrote from his Dublin exile to Pope, spoke ironically of the vacillations and uncertainties of the Cabinet of the day. He said they ought to issue a catechism every four months, in order to let their bewildered supporters know what to think and write and speak on the leading political questions. The idea is not a bad one for a party doubtful about its own changing policies in changing times; and, while confidently expecting the issue of something official, we humbly volunteer a few touchstones of Republican orthodoxy to-day:

Question. What is the chief end of prosperity?

Answer. To glorify the Republican party and keep it in office for ever.

Q. To what was the crop failure of 1894 due?

A. To the Wilson tariff and an imbecile Administration.

Q. What are we to think of the damage to crops in 1901?

A. That it is the dispensation of an all-wise Providence, intended to try our faith and cultivate the grace of patience.

Q. What is a labor union?

A. In Presidential years it is a noble band of workers, seeking the common good.

Q. What is it in other years?

A. A nuisance.

Q. What is a strike?

A. When an election is pending, it is the dignified appeal of laboring men for the redress of intolerable grievances, and Mark Hanna sees that the employers give it to the men.

Q. Why does he not do it at other times?

A. He is too busy.

Q. What is reciprocity?

A. It is an arrangement by which we invite other nations to sell us if they will buy of us.

Q. What is the protective tariff?

A. The law devised to keep other nations from selling to us.

Q. Then is not protection inconsistent with reciprocity?

A. No.

Q. Why not?

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A. The Republican platform says it is not.

Q. Is there any other reason?

A. There is.

Q. Can you state it?

A. The Republican Senate refuses to ratify reciprocity treaties.

Q. Is that for the purpose of keeping reciprocity consistent with protection?

A. No, it is for the purpose of keeping bogus jewelry and shoddy cloth from competition.

Q. Then where does reciprocity come in?

A. It comes in the platform.

Q. What is a platform?

A. It is a formal promise to do certain things if you are elected and do not change your mind.

Q. If you cannot carry out your own plans by the help of your own party, what do you do?

A. Get Democrats to assist you.

Q. What are such Democrats called?

A. They are called "commercial Democrats."

Q. What is a commercial Democrat?

A. He is a politician familiar with buying and selling.

Q. Do you know what the Constitution is?

A. Yes, it is the supreme law of part of the land.

Q. In what part is it not supreme?

A. Where it does not apply.

Q. How do you know where it applies and where it does not apply?

A. We know that it does not apply where it would be inconvenient to apply it.

Q. Does it apply to the Philippines?

A. No, because the Filipinos are better off without it.

Q. What are we going to do for the Filipinos?

A. We are going to educate them.

Q. Does that mean teach them to read and think?

A. It does.

Q. Should we let them read and study the American Constitution?

A. No.

Q. Why not?

A. It would only confuse them.

Q. May they read the history of the Republican party?

A. It would be better not. They might want to add a chapter.

Q. Will the Declaration of Independence be studied in Philippine schools?

A. No; it would merely disturb them.

Q. May they read the Bible where it says that God hath made of one blood all nations of men?

A. No.

Q. Why not?

A. That would disturb *us*.

THE NEGRO AS SOLDIER AND OFFICER.

The mustering-out last month of two negro volunteer regiments after nearly two years of creditable service in the Philippines, and the recent appointment of three colored men as officers in the enlarged regular army, have again called public attention to the negro as a soldier. Sufficient praise has not, however, been accorded to the President for appointing these men, or to the army examining boards, which found two of them qualified for promotion from the ranks, and recommended them for advancement, in spite of the prejudice existing in the army against the negro officer.

That the colored soldiers have fairly earned this representation among the commissioned ranks by brave work before Santiago and in the Philippines, does not detract from the merit of the action. The experiences of Cadet Whittaker and of ex-Lieutenant Flipper in the eighties, and the difficulty of adjusting the relations of white and negro officers within the same garrison without injury to discipline or substantial injustice, would have been sufficient excuses for a Secretary of War or a President who wished to shirk his duty. Hitherto such colored officers as have been in the army were lieutenants in negro regiments, and therefore the subordinates of nearly all the white officers and unlikely to exercise command over them. But now that the one colored officer who has been in the army during the last few years has risen to be an extremely efficient captain of cavalry, and a colored man has been appointed a major in the Pay Department, a genuine test of the discipline of the army is at hand.

For the last three years the War Department has dodged the issue by keeping Capt. Charles Young of the Ninth Cavalry on duty at a colored men's college in Ohio. He cannot be kept there for ever, nor can the two colored lieutenants just appointed be kept from rising to higher rank, provided that they are guilty of no misconduct. It remains to be seen whether the white officers will have the good sense and still better taste to recognize that it is the uniform and rank which they have to obey in following the commands of a superior, and that for military purposes the color of that superior's skin is of as little importance as his personal and private character. What social relations there will be between white and colored officers will depend on the manliness and the training which the white officers have received, as well as on the tact of the colored. There have already been striking examples among the latter of good judgment and a proper recognition of the difficulties of their position.

Capt. R. L. Bullard, a regular army officer, who commanded an absolutely raw Alabama regiment of plantation and town negroes during the Spanish-American war, contributes to the current issue of the *Journal of the Military Service Institution* an account of his experiences with them, which throws much light upon their value from the military point of view. It is their lightheartedness and happiness which impressed him most. "From daylight until far into the night, a negro camp is a steady hum of laughter and talk, dance, song, shout, and the twang of musical instruments. It is a scene full of life and fun, of jostling, scuffling, and racing, of clown performances and cakewalks, of impromptu minstrelsy, speechmaking, and preaching, of devilling, guying, and fighting, both real and mimic." Such social natures have they that Col. Bullard could not keep his sentinels by themselves. "Colonel," said a visitor, "your sentinels are sociable fellows. I saw No. 5 over at the end of his beat entertaining No. 6 with some fancy manual of arms. Afterwards, with equal amiability, No. 6 executed a most artistic cakewalk." But the chronic complainer is practically unknown in a negro regiment, provided that the cook "gives them a square deal." Otherwise there will be trouble right away. But nothing else worries, however exhausting and comfortless the exigencies of the service, however trying the climatic conditions. The colored cavalrymen had hardly dug their trenches under the tropical rains of Santiago before smuggled musical instruments appeared and the singing began.

From the outset the negro recruit recognizes the authority of his officers as a white one does not, but he wishes those officers to be far above him in rank and social standing, and only the most unqualified backing up of the non-commissioned officers gives them the influence and authority they need. In his captain the negro soon learns to have " a most remarkable trust and reliance," and that officer has to become banker for the entire company if all is to go well. For the negro soldier loses all his money at once, in gambling or otherwise, and must be tided over judiciously to the next pay day. One of his difficulties is his irresistible propensity for carrying concealed weapons; and here it is not the razor, but the pistol, which attracts. Another is his susceptibility to the contagion of passions and excitement. It is through example and ridicule, and not through scolding, that he is best reproved. But the most powerful aid in getting discipline Col. Bullard found to be the appeal to him for the honor and advancement of his race—his "most sensitive point." Touching him here, the Colonel found that this appeal "made the dirty clean, the ragged whole, the crooked straight, and the lazy work, the ignorant learn, and the disorderly and riotous quiet." In conclusion, Col. Bullard affirms that the average negro volunteer "comes to the colors with more of the first urgently needed qualities of the soldier and readier for service than the white."

The same favorable testimony has

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long come from the regular army. Excellence in drill, pride in the service, passionate devotion to just officers and of officers to them, contentedness and happy endurance—these are to be found in the negro regular, as well as in the volunteer. For years the colored regiments, and particularly the Ninth Cavalry, stood at the head of the army in the Inspector-General's reports, being especially distinguished for their few desertions. As brave soldiers the colored Americans won their spurs the day Shaw died on Wagner's walls to be "buried among his niggers." Their valorous conduct at Santiago was but a repetition of Civil War and Indian campaign achievements, even when their beloved white officers were shot down and they went ahead under their sturdy sergeants—with their eyes to the front.

THE GERMAN TARIFF PROJECT.

For nearly ten years the Agrarians, or land-owning party of East Prussia, have been demanding pecuniary assistance through some action of the Government. The low price of grain resulting from cheap supplies imported from Russia and the United States has lowered land rents there in the same way as in England, and has reduced the landlords to what they consider penury. It has curtailed their luxuries and brought the estates of the more improvident ones to sale under foreclosure. This has been to them the very overturn of society. Being a powerful faction in politics, and regarding themselves as the chief support of the monarchy, they long ago made an appeal to the Government to relieve them from the consequences of slow-moving, irresistible economic forces, for which the Government was in nowise responsible.

The chief factor among these forces consists of improvements in transportation by land and sea. On the one side lies Russia with vast wheat fields and a growing railway system; on the other the North American continent and an open waterway with constantly improving steamship lines. During the past ten years it may be fairly said that Germany has led the way for other nations, both in carrying capacity and in speed of movement. Every cent of reduced cost in transportation has been an additional sting to the *Junkers* of Prussia. In their desperation they first demanded the free coinage of silver as a relief. They conceived that the low price of grain was due to an insufficient supply of money, and that a remedy could be found in the remonetization of silver. Chancellor Caprivi so far yielded to them as to order an official investigation, which resulted in nothing. The Agrarians then made a motion in the Reichstag for a new international silver conference, and actually obtained a majority vote for it, but the Bundesrath did not agree to it.

Since the failure of this attempt, the Agrarians have been frantically demanding a higher tariff on cereals, in order to raise the price of home-grown wheat and rye. They have all the time been working to exclude American meat from the German market by raising questions as to its healthfulness, but these endeavors have not yielded any large percentage of profit to themselves, although they have created much irritation in the United States. A protective tariff is certainly a much more rational scheme to accomplish the end they have in view, and it has the further advantage that we Americans cannot reasonably object to it, since that is our way of accommodating the interests of the home producer.

It seems now that the German Chancellor has yielded to these demands so far as to frame a new tariff schedule, in which increased duties on agricultural products hold the leading place. Additional duties have been allowed to manufacturers also, but are not acceptable to them. Being exporters, they are obliged to sell in competition with England, Belgium, and the United States, while the increased duties on food products will surely add to their costs of production. It is probable that the new tariff bill has been put forth as a test of public opinion, rather than as a settled plan of the Government, and that it is liable to be abandoned or modified according to the reception it meets among the constituencies, and in the press, and in the foreign chancelleries.

Looking at the schedules as they stand, we cannot see anything that we have a right to complain of. The proposed duty on Indian corn and barley is four marks per metric hundredweight, *i. e.*, 96 cents per 220 pounds, or less than half a cent per pound. Our duty on barley is 30 cents per bushel of 48 pounds, or about three-fourths of a cent per pound. The proposed German duty on rice is the same as on barley. Ours is two cents per pound on cleaned and one and one-quarter cents on uncleaned, *i. e.*, three or four times higher. Fresh meat is to pay about three cents per pound. Under our tariff the rate is two cents, but bacon, hams, and dressed poultry are here taxed five cents per pound. Wheat flour is to pay about one cent and a half per pound. With us the duty is 25 per cent. ad valorem, or about half a cent per pound. This is merely nominal, as none is imported. Any duty at all would be prohibitory in this country.

Although we shall have nothing to complain of if the new German duties apply to all countries alike, it seems certain that Russia and Austria will have much to complain of. The new tariff will interrupt established lines of trade of great local importance, and will curtail the earnings of Government railways, in a marked degree. It is already intimated that the Russian Minister of Finance will retaliate in kind promptly and decisively, and that Austria will not stand idle while her trade is attacked in the manner proposed. The other European countries, Rumania, Italy, and the Netherlands especially, will be hurt also, but none will be hurt so much as Germany herself. Whatever adds to the cost of living of the workingman (and this is the precise aim of the bill) will stir up hatred against the governing class, and add to the political power of the Socialists, besides lessening the ability of the manufacturers to compete in foreign trade.

EVERY AUTHOR HIS OWN PRESS-AGENT.

A Boston publisher has been divulging trade secrets to a London reporter, and the reporter has in turn been trying to give light to them that sit in darkness. The unprecedented sales of some recent books, says the Boston authority, are not due to the vast superiority of living writers over those of fifty years ago; no, Mary Johnston is not sixty per cent. better than George Eliot, and Irving Bacheller one hundred per cent. greater than Dickens. The difference in sales, declares the modest publisher, is to be ascribed less to the skill of the author than to the publisher's unexampled resourcefulness as an advertiser. Doubtless the modern publisher is justified in taking credit to himself; but evidence is not lacking that in this race for fame the author has cheerfully, if not eagerly, consented to serve as his publisher's pace-maker.

The change in the attitude of the author is illustrated by a little incident which occurred in London in 1858—a prehistoric age, as far as the art of advertising is concerned. Edmund Yates then wrote, for a periodical called *Town Talk*, a short account of Thackeray's personal appearance and his literary successes. To be sure, the sketch was not wholly flattering, but so much the better, for no one could then accuse it of being simply a puff. What was Thackeray's proper course under the circumstances? No enlightened man in this year of grace 1901 will hesitate for a moment to say that he should have clipped the article and sent it with his own photograph to his publishers, Bradbury & Evans. They should have ordered immediately five hundred proof-slips and mailed one to each newspaper in the United Kingdom, with some such circular as this:

DEAR SIR: Since we advertise freely in your columns, you will probably wish to reprint in whole, or in part, with proper credit to *Town Talk*, the enclosed sketch of Mr. Thackeray, whose popular novel, 'The Virginians,' we are now publishing in monthly parts at 1s. each. The sale of this work is, as you doubtless know, absolutely unprecedented in the book-trade. If you can use a cut we shall be happy to send you,

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carriage prepaid, an excellent electrotype portrait of Mr. Thackeray. [Was this before the days of electrotypes?] Trusting you will do your best for us, and will send us a marked copy, we remain, your obedient servants, BRADBURY & EVANS.

Incredible as it may seem, however, nothing of the kind happened. Thackeray did not even offer Mr. Yates an autograph copy of 'The Newcomes.' Instead, he demanded that Mr. Yates should apologize for printing facts about the color of his hair and his manner of speech, learned in the privacy of the Garrick Club, of which both were members. Evidently Thackeray was laboring under the delusion that an author is a member of a learned profession, bound by some such fantastic code as that of reputable doctors and lawyers. It is conceivable that if he had seen on every bill-board the legend, "Read 'The Virginians'! A Great Historical Novel! Incidents of the French and Indian War! Brilliant Characterization of George Washington!" he would have felt as horrified as the President of the New York Academy of Medicine if he saw his name on a poster in every street-car, with the advice, "Go to Dr. —— for Appendicitis! Operations While You Wait!"

But we have left Thackeray's benighted notions far behind us. Authors no longer fly in the face of Providence by neglecting their opportunities, for they justly reason that it is useless to write if your books do not sell; your books will not sell unless they are advertised; and they will not be well advertised unless you lend a hand in the good work. Already some of our most popular novelists have begun to play the part of the theatrical press-agent, and play it with improvements of their own. Certainly in comparison with the crude and silly tale about the theft of the beautiful Miss Dancer's ten-thousand-dollar diamond necklace, Hall Caine's confidences about his barrels of notes for the local color of 'The Christian' are an artistic job. Then one should set against the stories of the thousand and one hotel-keepers with whom Sara Bernhardt has quarrelled because they will not admit her pet panther to the dining-room, the following choice bit:

"It is a rather novel idea for an author to call in his family physician in consultation regarding the symptoms of one of his characters. But this, it seems, is just what Mr. Harold McGrath did while writing 'The Puppet Crown.' He had just finished the chapter describing the 'fight on horseback,' and, feeling that the situation had got rather beyond his own powers, detailed the facts to the doctor, and asked what could be done to save the hero. 'Save him, my boy?' replied the old gentleman, gravely. 'He is beyond the power of human aid. Science can do nothing for him. Art can only put him out of his misery.' Mr. McGrath adds that after the publication of the book he received a bill from his physician for professional services."

That closing sentence is convincing proof that while Madame Bernhardt's literary agent is a dull bungler, Mr. McGrath, who is his own master, is a versatile craftsman in fiction.

And, then, in the interviewing—that great device for giving publicity to valueless opinions—the result is vastly more satisfactory when the interviewee (to coin a much-needed word) does it all himself. He can put it just as he wants it. The chances for interviews are, of course, innumerable. Wherever the author goes, he can persuade a complaisant editor to print a few remarks about realism and idealism or the proper function of the "problem novel"; for apparently there is no limit to the amount which a public, eager to get culture, and get it quick, is willing to swallow on such stimulating subjects. The public is equally willing to learn how the poet happened to write "The Man with the Hoe"—indeed, with characteristic depravity, it actually prefers the exposition to the poem itself.

But the author need not confine himself to shop, for the less he knows of a question the more amusing his observations on it. If he has achieved a reputation for sketches of bucolic character, he is naturally expected to toss off a half-column on the Boer war. If his forte is light and agreeable literary criticism, he can be certain the public is panting to hear him deliver a fierce denunciation of the steel strike. In short, he finds everything grist which comes to his mill; and he can grind it out into most attractive advertisements, which will be inserted in those comic sheets by courtesy called "literary supplements" exactly in the form of real reading matter. What is more, the author can get it put in for nothing, whereas two dollars a line is the price for printing the far abler and wittier articles which celebrate the virtues of Liddon's Liver Lifter.

THE SLOVAKS AT HOME.

TURÓCZ SZENT MÁRTON, June 26, 1901.

In the coal-mines and factories of Pennsylvania, especially at Pittsburgh and Connellsville, may be found the largest aggregations of Slovaks in America, but they are commonly called Hungarians, with whom they have nothing in common but the country of their birth. They have not been long in their new homes, and have not yet acquired that respectability which comes with wealth, but there are many signs of their material and social progress in the air, and the time is not far distant when they will enjoy the same degree of respect that their racial brothers, the Poles, have won for themselves in Buffalo, Chicago, and other Polish centres. Much of the opprobrium cast upon them by Americans is due mainly to their almost Oriental looks and ways, and to their choice of the lowest occupations in mines and factories, though their sturdiness is not denied by any. Generalizations are easily made, and the public has at once decided that all Slovaks are of the same cast and belong to a decidedly inferior civilization, hardly worthy of any consideration. It will, therefore, appear as a surprise to many that, in my peregrinations through northern Hungary, I have met Slovak university professors in the mountainous suburbs of Pressburg, have watched with curiosity and amazement their artistic and costly national costumes at Tyrnau, have found a famous Tolstoist at Sillein, have passed my time in Slovak museums, club-houses, printing-offices, editorial rooms, in their literary centre, the village of Turócz Szent Márton, right in the heart of the Carpathian Mountains, and have moved in refined Slovak society, which, but for its language and patriotic sentiments, might as well be of St. Petersburg or Boston.

If there were a Slovakia as there is a Bohemia, Bulgaria, Servia, the fate of the Slovaks would have been more fortunate than that of many of the other Slavic nations, for they are endowed by nature with many admirable qualities. But the Slovaks have no country of their own, no self-government, no historical past. Up to the end of the eighteenth century their language was regarded as a corrupt dialect of Bohemian, fit only for the peasants. The aristocracy and gentry of northern Hungary, though recruited from the Slovak landowners, had no nationality. For centuries they had attached themselves to the Hungarian crown by means of the Latin language, which was the common speech of all the educated in the realm. Unfortunately for the native population, the Magyar regeneration began earlier than that of the Slavs, for the aristocracy exchanged the Latin for the Magyar, so that, when the national consciousness of the Slavs was awakened at the end of the eighteenth century, the higher classes had already been alienated by Hungary. The country population spoke its native dialect, but listened to Bohemian religious instruction.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when the idea of nationality began to ferment in Slavic countries, a Catholic priest among the Slovaks, by the name of Bernolak, published a six-volume dictionary of the Slovak language, and wrote some tracts in a dialect not far removed from the Bohemian. Others followed in his footsteps, until Stur, in the first third of the last century, created a new school by the introduction of the dialect of the middle counties into literature. The Slovaks, though only two and a half million strong, of whom but a small fraction is not Magyarized or intelligent enough to read belles-lettres, have developed a more beautiful and varied literature than their more fortunate brethren, the Croatians, Servians, Bulgarians. But no field has been so successfully cultivated by them as poetry. Of the poets now living, the greatest are Országh-Hviezdoslav and Hurban-Vajansky. The latter is of particular interest, since he is also their best prosaist, and because he is the son of the writer Hurban, who was Stur's partner in most of his undertakings, and thus brings down in direct line the best traditions of the older school.

Before leaving America, I visited the Slovak quarter of New York, which centres on East Second Street, and provided myself in the Slovak Bank with a letter of introduction to Mr. Hurban-Vajansky. The Slovaks began to come in evidence at Vienna. Peasant women in short fluted skirts, under which there must be half-a-dozen more skirts, though not of the airy texture of a

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ballet-dancer's garments, and barefooted or in heavy boots, may be seen anywhere in the streets selling cherries. These came from neighboring villages, for Slovakia reaches down almost to the gates of Vienna. An hour and a half's ride along the Danube to Pressburg brings us to the older seat of Slovak literary activities. This beautiful city is now completely Magyarized, though Slovak names are abundantly met with over stores. There still exists here an Evangelical Slovak seminary, and one of the best scholars of Slovak language and literature, Dr. L. Wagner, is connected here with a variety of learned institutions. I visited him in his beautiful summer residence in the mountains, within a short walk from the centre of the city. Dr. Wagner is a Magyaron, as the sympathizers with the Magyars are called here, though he loves the Slovaks platonically. He presented me with a few copies of his pamphlet, entitled 'Talvj: A Biographical Sketch in Memory of her Hundredth Birthday,' for distribution in a few American libraries. So I found here in Hungary a link between the two continents, for Talvj was the great Slavic scholar who married Prof. Edward Robinson of Andover; they were both of them, later, active at Boston and New York.

From Pressburg I sped to Turócz Szent Márton through the valley of the Vag, with the Carpathian Mountains on both sides towering higher and higher. This village is situated very much like Sofia in Bulgaria, of which it seems to be a diminutive reproduction. One is surprised to find so small a place, in an almost inaccessible region, far away from large centres, to be the seat of culture and the chief representative of national unity. Pressburg and Pesth may appear objectionable, as they are too thoroughly Magyar to be eligible; but Tyrnau, for example, which is surrounded by prosperous Slovak villages, might have been chosen as the proper spot for their propaganda. In fact, the selection of Turócz Szent Márton is purely accidental. When, some fifty years ago, the propagandists of the Slovak idea made an appeal for a national gathering and the establishment of a national museum, only two villages responded to the call, and thus the insignificant Szent Márton (there are dozens of Saint Martins in Hungary), in the county of Turócz, became the rendezvous of literary men, and still is the only palpable proof of the existence of a Slovak nation.

The first thing that strikes one's eyes as one walks the main street of the village is a large, commodious building, which would not be out of place in the main street of a populous city. It is the Magyar Government building, post-office, etc., but the Magyars did not build it. The Slovaks had erected it as their national home, and the Magyars, who love them as little as they love the Magyars, confiscated their works of art, library, building and all, carried away the best things to Pesth, and left the rest to rot in cellars and garrets. For a time it seemed as though there was no hope, as though the poor people could not make new contributions to the national cause. And even if the money could be got together, what guarantee was there that the Magyars would not again blight their fair hopes? And there was again found a way out of the difficulty. A new, commodious building, only second to the first, was built on fifty-florin shares, and this, being now private property, is more easily exempt from Government interference. The name of National Museum was avoided, and it is simply called "Dóm" —that is "House," or "Hotel Dom," for a small hotel has been installed there. A few Slovak newspaper offices, four printing-presses, one book-store, a bank are the only other signs of national life. The bank receives deposits and transacts business mainly for the American Slovaks who send their earnings home. It does a business of 30,000,000 florins a year, which speaks well for the emigrants or for America. The proprietor of the small book-store (one of four or five in existence) has managed to accumulate enough money from the sale of books to build himself a substantial house for these regions. The printing-presses furnish nearly all the literature for home consumption, while the newspapers eke out an existence between the periodic incarcerations of their staffs in Magyar prisons for supposed breaches of the law.

By far the most interesting building, as I have said, is the Dom. Here there is a native library composed of private donations, brought together from long-forgotten hiding-places in distant parsonages. Not only does it contain the more modern Slovak books, but books in other languages, written by natives or printed on native presses, have been brought together here. Unfortunately, there are no means at hand properly to classify and arrange the vast material of some twenty or thirty thousand books, and much of it lies in heaps upon the floor. There are a number of duplicates and triplicates, of which many, in Slovak, will soon find their way into the Harvard library. Such, at least, is the result of my visit in Slovakia.

The National Museum, in no better order than the library, and owing its origin to similar donations, deserves a better housing. Leaving out such gifts as mounted crocodiles and doubtful paintings of doubtful masters, there is enough there to give a good idea of the past and present of the country. The archæological department is rich in excavations from historic and prehistoric times. The ethnological division harbors curious specimens of native workmanship, but is especially interesting on account of its collection of native costumes, many of which not only are artistic, but surprise one by the wealth which they represent. I have seen in Tyrnau, in the streets and in some of the stores, women's garments which cost not less than seventy-five or one hundred dollars, but which could not be reproduced for three times the money if the work were paid for according to American ideas.

In the Dom there is also a casino, where the prominent Slovaks of Szent Márton and their visitors may be found of an evening. Beer and wine are served here only surreptitiously, as the Magyar Government will grant no license, although wine flows freely in the Magyar casino of the village. Here the patriots passively discuss the evils of the day and prognosticate the future. The room in which the gatherings take place is the only one in which an attempt has been made to introduce art into the construction of the native house, or, more correctly, to employ artistically the simple adornments of the village house. The result is very pleasing and does credit to the artist. The high dado of woodwork is fluted along the edges of the narrow boards that run down vertically, and the flutings end above in simple rosettes. The ceiling is made to imitate planks resting on heavy beams, and is again fitly decorated in two or three colors. There are also representations of chimney-corners, niches, and doorways, and native crockery of a most elegant design is hung along the wall, over the fireplace, and above the doors.

Here again, in the town, is the only theatre Slovakia possesses. Amateur performances may be seen in other places, but here alone there is a pretty stage with proscenium boxes and sufficient room to hold a large village audience with its visitors from near and far. Performances are given only once a month, but the singing society meets oftener. It was my good fortune to be present at a rehearsal of the musical programme which is to be part of the national festivities that will take place on August 7. None but native songs, nearly all in Gregorian keys, were sung, and the voices of the young ladies, daughters of the best society the village can muster, rang out pleasantly through the empty hall. One of the peculiarities of the August festivity is that all the ladies appear only in native costumes, which have also been adopted by them on all occasions when a balldress is worn elsewhere.

When I reached Turócz Szent Márton, I made at once for the office of the *Narodné Noviny*, the largest native publication, where I found Mr. Hurban-Vajansky. His appearance is as striking as his whole personality. Of more than medium height, heavily bearded, with a stentorian voice, he is a giant among his people. The New York banker had written him about my intended visit, and the formalities of introduction were therefore short. He went with me to Hotel Dom, to find a room for me there, but it happened to be the day of manœuvres, and the village was filled with the Magyar military, not less than six generals being the thorns in the Slovak sides, and all rooms were taken. So I was lodged in Mr. Hurban-Vajansky's private home, which gave me an insight into Slovak family life. It is rather a humble home for a literary man that the poet occupies. He has sacrificed all his aspirations for the chosen purpose of serving his people. His father before him was an evangelical preacher and a literary man, and he himself comes by right to the literary inheritance. In the arbored hallway of the house he has sketched some verses on the wall as his spirit has moved him, and his young son promises to continue the tradition, for his verses are intermingled with those of his father. Though the appointments of the house are strikingly simple, there is a large private library of the world's best literature, mainly Slavic, in which Russia occupies the lion's share. Not less interesting are the pictures that adorn the wall. They are all the work of prominent Slovak artists, and some are first prints after such as could not be procured by him.

Many are the goings and comings in the house. There came Sultéty, the leading Slovak philologist, and Dula and Mudron, prominent lawyers; and, best of all, his old mother had just returned from a visit to her son who is a parson in a Slovak community in Croatia. Though seventy-five years old, she looks as if she might outlive her sons, being livelier than a child. She said

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she did not wish to stay in the village in Croatia, as the cemetery there looked too empty and uncomfortable. Nor is Mrs. Hurban-Vajansky less interesting. She takes a vivid interest in all the affairs of her husband and nation, and is a most charming hostess. I had some compunction about accepting their hospitality, as, being a vegetarian, I feared I should cause them inconvenience. But no, was not their countryman, Dr. Makovicky, a famous vegetarian, and why could they not feed me like the tame little rabbit that ran around the room?

Mr. Hurban-Vajansky's family is as cultured as any I have met. But there is a special flavor to all his sympathies. Of course, he is a Magyar-hater and a Panslavist. He belongs to that older generation of men, like Aksakov in Russia, who believe in the existence of a Slavic idea. What that idea is, neither he nor his friends could well define, but it finds expression in a general hatred of everything German, Jewish, Magyar. There is growing up a young Slovakia which, like young Bohemia under the guidance of Professor Masaryk, is more reasonable in its aspirations, and seeks a solution of the perplexing question of a Slavic nationality in self-improvement according to Western ideas. Apart from these Panslavist tendencies, which are alienating the younger generations from him, Hurban-Vajansky is broad-minded and thorough. He has not that unconditional admiration for Tolstoi that some of his countrymen and others profess to have, for he regards his teachings as contradictory and "academic," while his 'Resurrection' is a "youthful" error. Nor does he speak of Sienkiewicz with unconditional praise. He has no use for the heaping of bloody incidents in which the Polish author revels.

Some years ago the American Slovaks invited Hurban-Vajansky to cross the ocean and lecture to them. Unfortunately he could not accept their invitation, for fear of offending the Catholics at home. Soon after, he passed three months in a Magyar prison for a supposed demonstration in favor of a Slovak editor who had just returned from a year's incarceration. When he left his cell, in which he wrote a long novel now printing, he found the American Slovaks had deposited one thousand florins for him in the bank. It is quite possible that he will come to America; at least he would accept such an invitation from his American countrymen.

After leaving Szent Márton, I went to Sillein (Zsolna, in Magyar) to see the famous Tolstoist and friend of Tolstoi, Dr. Makovicky. He has translated many of this author's works into Slovak, possesses a very large Tolstoi album and correspondence with the master, and lives up to his principles. Here in Sillein there also lived a lawyer, Lombardini, who was a great bibliophile, and who owned the most complete Slovak library. After his death, four years ago, his books found their way to a bookseller in Pressburg, where they were never unpacked. They are now on their way to the Harvard Library.

FOUCHÉ.—II.

PARIS, July 14, 1901.

Nobody in the Convention was in more danger than Fouché in the period which preceded Thermidor. Robespierre hated him; their friendship in the old days at Arras had changed to a deep aversion. Fouché paid a visit to Robespierre, in the hope of coming to some sort of understanding with the master of the Convention. Robespierre kept him long waiting, and saw him only to utter a violent diatribe against Fouché's policy in Lyons. Fouché did not reappear in his house, and open warfare began between them in the Convention and in the club of the Jacobins. Fouché became the instigator of a coalition against Robespierre; he did not show himself much, as he was not a good speaker, but he was behind Barras and Tallien, and he finally gave them the signal for the decisive attack.

The famous sitting of the 9th Thermidor was so dramatic that Sardou had nothing to do, in his "Thermidor," but to transfer to the stage the official account of it. Fouché, though he did not appear at the tribune, was, after Saint-Just, Billaud, Tallien, Vadier, Collot-d'Herbois, Thuriot, one of the most energetic actors in the great drama. Of the date of his triumph he was all his life very proud. When, in 1815, he was threatened with the effect of the anger of Napoleon, he simply said: "On a certain day Robespierre exclaimed, 'Before a fortnight passes, Fouché's head or my own must roll on the scaffold.' It was his head that rolled there." The history of the quarrels of the Thermidorians among themselves after their victory is somewhat tedious. Fouché had to defend himself against the attacks of many who had been his allies. He was assailed on all sides for his conduct during his sanguinary missions. The Thermidorians were all Terrorists, and they found themselves the first victims of the reaction against the Terror which began after Thermidor. Fouché was finally declared ineligible to the new legislative body, and for a time fell into oblivion.

For three years he led a miserable life. He asked for a place which would keep him from starving; he received an obscure mission from the Directory to the frontiers of Spain. He was forbidden to remain in Paris, where he maintained relations with the worst Jacobins, and was exiled to Montmorency. When allowed to return, he became an agent of the financiers and army contractors. He offered his services to the Abbé de Montesquiou, the agent of Louis XVIII. in France. They were disdainfully refused. Of all his colleagues in the Convention, one only took some interest in him; it was Barras, who employed him occasionally unofficially, and recommended him to the attention of his colleagues in the Directory. Fouché undertook the defence of the *coup d'état* of Fructidor, which was made against the majority of the *Cinq-Cents*, and he was recompensed with the post of French Minister to the Cisalpine republic. His nomination caused a great sensation at Milan. Fouché, who had ceased to believe in the permanence of the republic, thought he had found in Gen. Joubert, who commanded in Lombardy, the instrument of a *coup d'état*. His intrigues at Milan caused his recall, but he forced the Directory to give him another post in Holland. He there showed great activity in preparing resistance to an Anglo-Russian invasion when he was called back to France and intrusted with the Ministry of General Police. Fouché was now in his element; he had at last, after six years of poverty and uncertainty, found a pedestal on which he resolved to build for himself an immense fortune, a mysterious and formidable power; and while he was on his way from Tho Hague to Paris; Gen. Bonaparte was on the Mediterranean, approaching the coast of France.

Fouché owed his new post to Barras. They were both regicides; they were both bound to the cause of the Revolution; and if, in a moment of despair, Fouché had offered his services to the agent of the Bourbon, he feared more than ever a restoration. At the same time he was not, when he became Minister of the Directory, in favor of a Jacobin policy. Ségur, in his memoirs, attributes to him this cynical declaration; he wished "to arrest the march of a revolution which was now, in his eyes, without an object, as he had obtained all the personal advantages which he could claim." This was said to Ségur in 1809, but it undoubtedly represents Fouché's state of mind after he rose to power. His policy was clearly proclaimed by him the very day after he entered upon his new functions. It was a policy of equilibrium, consisting in opposing both parties, the Jacobins and the Royalists. But it was not to the weak government of the Directory that Fouché intended to give the task of fixing for ever the ideas of the Revolution, and of reassuring its partisans at the same time against the excesses of the Terror and against the return of the monarchy. Fouché felt that France, tired of the Directory, needed a strong hand to direct its destinies. In Italy he had looked to Gen. Joubert, and he remained in correspondence with him; but Joubert was killed at the battle of Novi. He thought of Bonaparte, and made the acquaintance of Josephine; he helped her with money, and obtained communication of the letters which Bonaparte wrote to Josephine from Egypt. When Bonaparte landed at Fréjus, Fouché was ready for him. His part in the preparation of the *coup d'état* of Brumaire was not very apparent; it was none the less effective. Fouché affected astonishment; he made reserves. He was ready for any emergency, and prepared to arrest Bonaparte if he did not succeed; to give him his powerful aid if he did.

He lost no time in announcing to France, when Bonaparte was made First Consul, the constitution of a "powerful and strong Government." He gave to Bonaparte at once the formula of his policy: "No reaction." "It was," says M. Madelin, "this thought which inspired in Fouché the attitude which he took after the 20th Brumaire, and which he kept till his downfall in 1802." We may well ask ourselves if this policy of "No reaction" was inspired in Bonaparte by Fouché, or in Fouché by Bonaparte. They had the same interest in protecting the ideas and to a certain extent the men of the Revolution; it is probable that they felt at once this community of interest. Napoleon no more than Fouché desired the return of the Bourbons; they both followed a personal policy; but circumstances were such that their policies coincided exactly.

Fouché gave to the general and to the secret police a powerful organization; he instituted the Prefecture of Police and the General Commissioners of Police, and attached the gendarmerie to his administration. His policy, as we have said, was one of equilibrium. He reassured at the same time the partisans of the Revolution and the

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Royalists, on condition that they would not conspire. He was in favor of the return of the *émigrés*, and became almost popular in what remained of aristocratic society. He took strong means for the reëstablishment of order in La Vendée, in Brittany, in Touraine, and instituted in twenty departments military commissions which made short work of all who lived by brigandage. In one of his reports, we find, that there were still 145,000 *émigrés* on the 18th Brumaire; in a short time, the names of 12,000 were struck from the terrible list. The increasing power of Fouché was compromised when the life of Napoleon was threatened by the celebrated infernal machine of the Rue Saint Nicaise. The First Consul was saved; he appeared a moment at the opera and on his return to the Tuileries, where he found Fouché. There was no doubt that the attempt was the work of the Jacobins. Bonaparte was much excited; he accused Fouché of leniency towards his enemies: "Ce sont vos Terroristes qui ont fait le coup" (Memoirs of Miot de Melito). Fouché remained silent, unmoved; the next day Napoleon accused again, before the Council of State, the remnants of the evil days of the Terror. Lucien, the brother of Bonaparte, openly upbraided Fouché; all the high functionaries, the ministers, the courtiers, joined in the same cry.

In the midst of this universal emotion, this phlegmatic man astonished his adversaries by his calm. He felt, he knew, that the infernal machine was not the invention of the Jacobins, but of the royalists. His police was at work; he kept a mysterious silence till all the proofs were in his hands and some of the members of the conspiracy might have been arrested. Meanwhile, a list of 130 Jacobins had been made, and the Senate had approved of their deportation without trial. Fouché was asked to sign this iniquitous condemnation. He knew that refusal would be equivalent to dismissal; he knew, also, that a few hours afterwards he should triumph, for he was on the point of arresting one of the conspirators. "Fouché did not hesitate. He countersigned the proscription of 130 men accused of terrorism between 1792 and 1795. He still was the Fouché of Nantes, of Nevers, of Lyons. He signed, and kept his place. Four days afterwards, he triumphed." He was so sure of his victory that he dared to arrest at midnight, at the very door of the Tuileries, Bourmont, who had conferred for an hour with the First Consul, and had tried to prove to him that the royalists had nothing to do with the plot of the infernal machine. Napoleon heard of the arrest at once and summoned Fouché at one o'clock in the morning. In the presence of Cambacérès and Lebrun, he made a terrible scene, threatening with disgrace and death the man who was so bold as to arrest a friend of the chief of state, as he came out of his room. The Minister seemed almost indifferent to all this noise. "There will be time," he said coldly, "to hang me in a few hours." In the early morning Carbon was arrested, and confessed that the royalists alone had prepared the infernal machine. All the important royalist chiefs were arrested. Fouché was master of the field. Napoleon was literally subjugated; he never forgot these events of Nivose, and Fouché sometimes reminded him of them.

Correspondence.

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The proposed reëstablishment of the *Magazine of American History* by Mr. William L. Stone and myself has been already noticed by the *Nation*, and I desire to add that, while the old subscribers have evinced their interest by sending me a considerable list of subscriptions, and various historical writers have promised to furnish contributions, it is yet necessary that a reasonable amount of capital should be obtained before reëstablishment can be made possible. About $5,000 will secure this, and firmly establish this old and valuable historical publication, with which Mrs. Martha J. Lamb was so long identified. Towards this amount, in itself so small when the object to be attained is so important to our literary community, I have received $500 from the Rev. Dr. Eugene A. Hoffman.

I wish to appeal to all your readers who are interested in our national history for the amount remaining to be raised. I shall be glad to furnish such with any further details they may desire.

Very truly yours, William Abbatt.

281 Fourth Ave., New York, July 24, 1901.

Notes.

At Winchester, the capital of King Alfred's kingdom, is to be held during the third week in September the international commemoration of his death a thousand years ago. There is to be, besides, a permanent memorial, consisting of a colossal statue (well under way) by Hamo Thornycroft, and possibly a Hall, to be used as an Educational Museum of Early English History. To complete the statue, some ten thousand dollars will be needed. Americans desiring to participate in this memorial are invited to send their subscriptions to Professor Bright of Johns Hopkins University, or to the Mayor of Winchester, Mr. Alfred Bowker.

The Shakspere Press, Westfield, Union County, N. J., announces the resumption on September 1 of *Shakespereana*, in quarterly issue. About November 1 it will have ready 'The Sonnets and Shakspere's Rival Poets,' with a reprint of Chapman's related poems, by Arthur Acheson.

Frederick A. Stokes Co. will have the American market for the Edinburgh Shakspere in ten folio volumes, edited by W. E. Henley. The issue will be in forty parts, and will contain ten "authentic" portraits. 360 of the 1,000 numbered sets are reserved for this country.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have nearly ready 'The Science of Penology,' by Henry M. Boles, M.A.

In October will appear, with E. P. Dutton & Co.'s imprint, 'A Wonderful Duchess,' being the biography of Anna Amelia, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar and Eisenach, compiled from the private papers in the Archives at Weimar by Frances Gerard.

'Falstaff and Equity: An Interpretation' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is the rather forced title of an ingenious and learned monograph by Charles E. Phelps. The subject is Falstaff's remark (I. Henry IV., act ii., sc. 2), "An the Prince and Poins be not two arrant cowards, *there's no Equity stirring*"—a line so obscure that even Malone, if we remember right, gave it up. Mr. Phelps is not only a lawyer, but a judge, and has made a special study of the law reports of the period to which the play belongs; he arrives at an interpretation of this allusion of Falstaff's which, to say the least, is plausible. It requires some imagination to transport one's self to a period when the mere mention of Equity, as a system at variance with the common law, would be enough to set an audience laughing; but undoubtedly such a day would have been just that in which this play was written. The major premises of Mr. Phelps's book may be said to be that any legal term, however neutral in itself, may come through circumstances to have a comical "content." Writers for the press employ the device continually, though they may never have analyzed the process. *Ad interim* and *aliunde* are two legal terms as technical as any, yet, in the time of Andrew Johnson, the first made us laugh, and in the time of the Electoral Commission the second.

It is not often that a lawbook runs through six editions in twenty years; the appearance of the seventh edition of the 'Law of Torts,' by Melville Madison Bigelow (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.), is evidence of an extraordinary and merited success. Some additions and changes have been made, and the whole field of Tort is now covered, and the work for the first time completed. It is, we believe, the most compendious book, of any note, on the subject treated, the text being comprised in some 400 pages.

Among other lawbooks, we have received a treatise relative to 'Taxpayers' Actions to Redress Municipal Wrongs, under the Statutes of the State of New York,' by John C. Thomson (Albany: H. B. Parsons). The statute is now buried under a body of decisions which make this treatise a necessity to the practitioner.

A little 'Manual of School Hygiene,' by Prof. Edward W. Hope and Edgar A. Brown, in the 'Cambridge [Eng.] Series for Schools and Training Colleges' (New York: Macmillan), contains, among other fresh matter, a section, under "Care of the Eye," on "Faulty Conditions Imposed by the Printer." There is here some failure to grasp the typographical situation, as in the advice to make the dialogue the norm of the school-book page, the left-hand edge to be vertical as now, the right-hand "advantageously varied"—like the typewriter's. This would sacrifice taste, which is gratified by symmetry; but, of course, it is further open to the standing objection that a jagged edge would always be suggestive of dropped words or characters. Similarly, the authors would allow no division of words at the end of a line, either leaving a blank or tolerating uneven and gross spacing. But this would deprive the child of discipline in division by simple observation. What is said of glazed paper and of the forms and size of letters is sensible, and so is the remark that "the longer the lines, . . . the greater fatigue in reading a given number of words"—and, we believe, the greater difficulty in comprehending and in remembering. That is, visualizing is made harder.

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Half a score of well-known German lyric poets, such as Von Liliencron, Bierbaum, Falke, Wedekind, etc., have jointly engaged in a novel kind of reform. To raise the performances at the varieties theatres to a higher artistic level, they have published in one small volume a collection of their lighter songs, 'Deutsche Chansons—Brettl-Lieder' (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler); while one, not of their number, Ernst von Wolzogen, has undertaken the practical task of bringing them upon the boards (*Brettl*). "We imagine the *variété* of the future as a stage that shall claim to be, not a moral, but an æsthetic, institution," say the authors in their preface; and it must be admitted that many of their songs are not of a nature to elevate, at least not directly, the moral standard of the audience. Still, there is a chance that, through the removal of the coarsest features and the development of artistic taste, the moral sense may also ultimately be reached.

The *Current Encyclopædia*, bearing date July 1 and the imprint of the Modern Research Society (Chicago and New York), is the initial number of an illustrated monthly publication whose title explains its purpose. It becomes an annual cyclopædia when twelve parts are bound together, and meantime each successive part contains an index embracing the preceding indexes. This index is by no means "full," as the prospectus avers, for it is only to the rubrics and not to the contents; but it is convenient. Certain contemplated departments, such as Legislation and Art, are invisible in the present number; nor has the review of new books been begun. Some of the articles are signed, and three of the writers thus disclosed (one an associate editor) bear the brunt of the collaboration. A bibliography is frequently appended. Personal sketches naturally abound—of deceased public characters and prominent living ones, generally with portraits. The brief accounts of Minister Conger and Comptroller Dawes are not favorable specimens of monthly cyclopædic work. Australia, China, Cuba, Hawaii, the Philippines, the Supreme Court's Porto Rican decisions, the new East River bridge, Edison's new storage battery, a new clock-face, recent astronomy, the Pan-American Exposition, that at Glasgow, the Hall of Fame of New York University—these are some of the subjects treated, along with a financial review, etc., etc. The illustrations are mostly very good. Later numbers will develop the scheme more perfectly and show the strength of the staff.

The success of the *American Historical Review* in drawing out for publication Southern political correspondence is emphasized in the current (July) issue. Its Department of Documents consists wholly of letters of Dr. Samuel Cooper, 1825-1832 (which, though chiefly personal, are in line with what follows), and letters on the nullification movement in South Carolina in 1830-1834. These read like strayed archives of the Confederacy, so minute are they in details of military preparation for an armed struggle with the Federal Government. Has the date ever been fixed of the Southern, or perhaps we should write Southron, preparedness to fall back on secession in self-defence against assumed invasion of sectional rights? Hayne, who figures here as organizing his nullification militia, was ready in 1826 for an exit from the Union upon "any interference whatever" in the South's "domestic concerns." "To assail our institutions [even by moral reprobation of the act of slaveholding] is wantonly to invade our peace." And this outburst occurred in a speech on the Panama question.

The *Geographical Journal* for July opens with the annual address to the Royal Geographical Society by Sir C. R. Markham. His chief topic was the Antarctic expedition, whose "main objects are to determine, as far as is possible, the extent and nature of the south polar land, to ascertain the nature of its glaciation and the condition of the ice-cap, to observe the character of the underlying rocks, and to make a magnetic survey south of 40°." This includes, of course, an inquiry into the source of the enormous icebergs which encumber the antarctic sea in such vast numbers. Flat-topped, 150 to 200 feet high, they are sometimes one or two miles in length. The seven alternative routes by which the unknown area may be penetrated were described, and reference was made to the recent conference of the representatives of eight nations—"all of those bordering the North Sea and the Baltic with the exception of France"—to arrange for the joint economic study of those seas: "to devise means for ascertaining whether the supply of fish is declining, as is generally believed; what is the reason for such decline, if it is really a fact, and the best means of preventing or checking its progress." Dr. Robert Bell gives an account of the part which he took in an expedition sent out by the Dominion Government to make investigations as to the navigation of Hudson Strait. This involved a survey of the southern coast of Baffinland and an exploration into the interior. Baffinland is an island, the third largest in the world, on the west side of Baffin's Bay. It is a bleak, treeless country, about 1,000 miles in length by 200 to 500 broad, apparently of no great value, being composed of barren rocks partly covered with ice. A number of single reindeer were seen, and, in the interior, a few birds. The population in this southern part consists of about 170 Eskimo, who proved to be brave, industrious, provident, and honest. The males were fine specimens of manhood, their height being above the average of the human race.

The *Ethnike Agoge* of Athens publishes the statistics of visitors at the museum in Olympia, from 1888 to 1900, as reported by the Ephor. In these thirteen years, 9,725 foreigners, more than one-half of whom were from England and America, were attracted thither. Germany stands third in the list with 1,524, and France fourth with 1,444, while the Russians, Austrians, and Italians together made a contingent of only 1,000. There were 31,711 Greek visitors. There has been a steady increase in the annual attendance from 201 to about 1,200 in recent years, the greatest increase being shown in the American contingent from 28 in 1888 to 419 in 1900.

The annual report of the State Geologist of New Jersey for the year 1900 has two main portions of great practical interest. Mr. Lewis Woolman continues his unapproachable record of artesian wells and water-bearing strata, while Dr. Henry B. Kümmel reviews the Portland cement industry in connection with the State's natural deposits of limestone and cement rock, and the modes of manufacture. The growth of this industry has been very rapid and is far from having reached its height. The areas under discussion are mapped in detail by Dr. Kümmel, whose whole presentation is very clear and orderly.

'Annals of the Astrophysical Observatory of the Smithsonian Institution,' volume i., is devoted to an exhaustive account of S. P. Langley's bolometric researches, the result of the discovery, made in 1881 with the then recently invented bolometer, of solar heat in a hitherto unknown spectral region now called the "lower infra-red spectrum." Of the solar radiations which reach the earth's surface, about three-fourths are invisible. The visible portion of the spectrum has been explored and mapped with great minuteness. The object of the investigation now published is to give for the first time the principal details of the important invisible portion lying beyond the red. This region is shown to be the seat of the principal telluric absorptions of the solar energy. There seems to be evidence that the absorption of the earth's atmosphere is directly associated with seasonal changes, and it is thought that some progress has been made towards foretelling, by means of bolometric observations, the remoter changes of the weather. Thus the study of solar energy may become, not simply an interesting scientific pursuit, but one of material usefulness. The volume is illustrated by over thirty plates.

In discussing, some weeks ago, the relation between yellow fever and the mosquito, we said: "With the *culex* subdued, the fever will be controlled." The vital statistics of Havana for June confirm this. Yellow fever held over from 1900 as usual, and there were 31 cases with 12 deaths in January and February. Upon the publication of the conclusions of the Reed Commission, Gen. Wood directed that every effort should be made to carry out disinfection along those lines, and on February 16 the order prescribing the new method was issued. No fresh case has occurred since May 7, and no death since March 16, notwithstanding that within the last three months three cases were introduced separately from without. Major Gorgas, the sanitary officer, appears justified in believing that the various foci were disinfected one after the other by killing off the contaminated mosquitoes, and in the opinion that "by pursuing present methods not only can Havana be rid of yellow fever, but that its spread may be prevented when introduced from the outside." Certainly the existing condition of the city is far and away the best that it has enjoyed.

—The opening article in the *Century* for August is on "Midsummer in New York," by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer. It undertakes to make out a case for remaining in New York during the summer, a thesis which, no matter how ably handled, revolts the human understanding. An article on why New York is unfit for human habitation in July would be more to the point. Incidentally, Mrs. Van Rensselaer visits the Barge Office, and discusses the newly landed immigrant and the proper way to treat him. She says that at the Barge Office an ethnologist might feel happy, but how about "a philanthropist or a patriot"? She admits that there is a good deal of "fine human stuff" to be seen at the Barge Office, but, in the mass, "what wooden, bovine, hawk-like, passionate,

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crafty, timid, or neurotic faces!" "The one trait" which these unfortunates "have in common" is "an ignorance so deep that a New Yorker can hardly fathom it." Yet this is the material "out of which we must make New Yorkers, Americans." Such a spectacle would render most people hopeless, but not so Mrs. Van Rensselaer, who is an optimist. These animals all become noble Americans in time, through the agency of sympathy, and mutual helpfulness, and kindergartens, and "the method of fraternal kindness" which leads us to aid the arriving animal to humanize himself. This is all rather vague, but the fact is that sociological philanthropy is apt to be rather vague. "The Paris Commune, Thirty Years After," by William Trant and Archibald Forbes, is a symposium which discusses the question as to how far *Paris brûlé* was the work of *pétroleur* and *pétroleuse*. Mr. Trant maintains, and the weight of evidence seems to be in his favor, that the whole story of the organized attempt to use petroleum to fire the city was a myth. People were undoubtedly killed or found dead who were taken for petroleum incendiaries, and there may have been solitary petroleum incendiaries, but "there was no intention or attempt, organized by the Commune or any one else, to destroy Paris, and the *pétroleur* and *pétroleuse* had no existence in fact, but were the offspring of the delirium of the moment." The matter might be worth looking into further, in connection with other historical conflagrations.

—The tract surveyed in the July section of the Oxford English Dictionary (H. Frowde) extends from Jew to Kairine, and now another section will bring the end of volume v., with volume vi. well under way. The verb "to jew" is traced no further back than Barham in 1845, and Irving used it in 1847. "Jiffy" remounts to Baron Munchausen in 1785, his phrase being "in six jiffies"; but the derivation of the word is still to seek. Equally obscure is that of "jiggered," which Marryat fathers in the 'Dog-Fiend' ("I'm jiggered"), 1837. "Jingo" is an old word, here of 1670, as a conjurer's summons, "Hey [or High] Jingo!"—as opposed to the fugitive "Presto!" The "par Dieu!" of Rabelais is rendered by Motteux in 1694 "by Jingo," and this enduring expression finally in 1879 begot our political noun "Jingo" out of Mr. G. W. Hunt's music-hall chorus—"We don't want to fight, yet by Jingo! if we do," etc., of 1878. "High jinks" goes back to the beginning of the 18th century. The Western gift to the East, the two-wheeled carriage named by the recipients "jin-riki-sha," or man-power vehicle, was, says one of Dr. Murray's citations, "invented by a missionary, W. Goble, about 1870." On the other hand, Westerners adapted names for "joss" and "junk," neither of these words being Chinese. "Jonathan" for the United States is found in English use in 1816, and four years later Sydney Smith made the still wholesome remark, "We can inform Jonathan what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory: Taxes upon every article which enters into the mouth." Our "Jim-Crow" car for the victims of color prejudice is here encountered only in English mention (1900) of the prevailing Southern practice; but the name came into being at the North in 1841, as may readily be found, to our shame.

—An Americanism likely to escape detection by the elect is the prefixing of "just" (=exactly) to a demonstrative in such phrases as "just this," "just what," "just how." It is certainly much older than 1884, the date of Dr. Murray's first quotation. The American use of "judge," as compared with the much more restricted and specialized English use, is among the valuable historical illustrations of this section. Another is the exemplification of the origin of "jury," name and thing. Curious, as here unfolded, is the development of "jubilee," with the interlacing of the shouting Latin words "jubilum" and "jubilare" and the Old Testament word, whose foundation was the ram's horn, not for the purpose of mere noise-making, but of proclaiming the peculiar Jewish festival of rest and restitution. To the Latin "juncus," a rush or reed, we owe ultimately our "junket," first a rush basket, then cream-cheese served or made in such a basket, then a feast and a picnic. The invention of "joyance" is ascribed to Spenser, but the novelty took indifferently till Coleridge and Southey caught it up, when it became a favorite with the nineteenth century. "July" was stressed in Johnson's time on the penult. "Judgement" (the spelling preferred by Dr. Murray) appears to have obtained firmly to the middle of the seventeenth century, when "judgment" came in. Exceptions as shown are rare on either side of the line. Under the letter K, interesting is the account of its rôle in English. The politics of the hour are connected with the use of "Kaffirs" on the English Stock Exchange to denote South African mine shares in 1889.

—Some years ago the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia offered a prize of two thousand dollars for the best essay on "The Development of Law as Illustrated by the Decisions Relating to the Police Power of the State." The prize was carried off by W. G. Hastings of Wilber, Nebraska, and is now reprinted by him in a volume of 196 pages (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. xxxix, No. 163). The essay deserves attention as the first serious attempt to discuss the "Police Power"—a doctrine developed by the American courts within the last fifty years—in a philosophical manner. The subject, though of the utmost importance, is an abstruse and difficult one, and, if we understand Mr. Hastings aright, no man has yet discovered the limits of the police power, because it has, in the nature of things, no limits, being nothing less than the invocation through the judiciary (in a State governed by a written Constitution) of the ultimate power of the State to deal with contract, property, and the individual in such way as it deems necessary for the public good. It is a fiction unnecessary in a State in which there are no written Constitutional limitations, because it is used only to evade some apparently exclusive limitations or restrictions. Apparently Mr. Hastings, like so many other lawyers, thinks the views often expressed in these columns about the Granger cases and their sequelæ are more or less wrong. This line of decisions in the Federal courts is, to our mind, however, admirably adapted to illustrate his main thesis, that the police power is a fiction. Here we have, first, decisions that the Legislatures may control rates charged by elevators, railroads, etc., followed by other decisions that they may fix them only within reasonable limits, these to be determined by ordinary judicial methods. The true historical explanation of this is that a wave of socialistic sentiment swept the Supreme Court into an invocation of the Police Power to permit assaults on property, while the danger to property brought about by the demon it had invoked, drove it subsequently into limitations of the power sufficient to make it harmless. The essay is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

—Prof. Williston Walker of the Hartford Theological Seminary delivered in 1898 and 1899 two courses of lectures at Andover which are now published by Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston, under the title, 'Ten New England Leaders.' The ten are William Bradford, John Cotton, Richard Mather, John Eliot, Increase Mather, Jonathan Edwards, Charles Chauncy, Samuel Hopkins, Leonard Woods, Leonard Bacon. Prof. Walker's 'History of the Congregational Churches in America' and his 'Creeds and Platforms' were books that must have made the writing of these sketches comparatively easy. Each separate figure stands out the more clearly because of this background of careful study. The salient points of his characters are seized with rare discrimination, and a due proportion is observed in relating them to each other and to the general course of New England theology. Bradford's and Eliot's courteous treatment of the Jesuit Missionary Gabriel Druillettes is perhaps exaggerated by the omission of the fact that he came as an ambassador seeking a reciprocity of trade between Canada and the New England settlements. Cotton's shiftiness with regard to Mrs. Hutchison is too graciously condoned, while in the affair of Roger Williams it is made plain that all the bigotry was not on Cotton's side. The good people of Dorchester, Mass., will be grieved by Professor Walker's judgment that their "First Church" which Richard Mather instituted, was, strictly speaking, the second, the first having gone bodily to Windsor, Conn. Eliot's Indian labors are not too highly appreciated. Particularly interesting is the fight which Increase Mather made with the liberalism of his day, one of its crimes being the "dumb reading" of the Scriptures in the churches—that is, without explanation. The sketch of Jonathan Edwards is, of course, the most important, and it is admirably done. So is that of Charles Chauncy, the heretic of Professor Walker's ten; the chief opponent of the Great Awakening. But in those times men found themselves heretics in the very act of trying to be orthodox—Hopkins, for example, whose anti-slavery career proved him willing to be damned for his humanity to man as well as for the glory of God. Like Edwards and Ezra Stiles, he began as a slave-owner, Stiles purchasing a slave in the West Indies for a hogshead of New England rum. The two Leonards—Woods and Bacon—were able ecclesiastics rather than profound theologians. The former was efficient in healing the schism of Old Calvinism and Hopkinsianism, the latter in minimizing the differences of Taylor and Bushnell from the received theology. It is interesting to find Bacon going to school with John Brown in Hudson, Ohio. The popular conception was much at fault if Bacon's disposition was in general irenical. The abolitionists did not so conceive when he was issuing

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papal interdicts against them of one kind or another. It would seem that Dr. Bacon was not sufficiently remote to be treated with the impartiality meted out to the nine earlier leaders.

—'The Bolivian Andes,' by Sir W. M. Conway (Harpers), is a "record of climbing and exploration in the Cordillera Real in the years 1898 and 1900." Bolivia still offers strong inducements to the mountaineer and to the geographer, for, though the region around the mines is well known, the back country has been little travelled. Sir Martin Conway's *entourage* in the Andes was not nearly so large as that which he had when Pioneer Peak was climbed, and his South American volume is also less ambitious than his account of mountaineering in the Himalayas. Mr. Whymper, when he went to Ecuador, took with him two guides from Val Tournanche, and Sir Martin Conway was attended in Bolivia by two natives of the same Alpine village—Antoine Maquignaz (who belongs to one of the most celebrated families of guides), and Louis Pellissier, a faithful and competent second man. But the Aymara Indians who were impressed for porters were a poor substitute for the Gurkhas. At the same time we must confess that we have found the smallness of the author's retinue no obstacle to our enjoyment of his adventures. The element of pure sport becomes greater when three men go out alone to attack a new and important peak. When the result of independent climbing is not a tragedy, like Mummery's death on Nanga Parbat, the story is more attractive than when the leader is followed by a caravan of guides, porters, and artists. In Bolivia, too, Sir Martin Conway had his vicissitudes, and did not subdue every mountain which he attempted. His chief triumph was the ascent of Illimani, 21,200 feet, and his chief defeat was encountered a little below the top of a still higher summit, Ancohuma. Here he was beaten by fresh and powdery snow, not by the inevitable difficulties of the mountain. When it came to a choice of taking a diagonal course across a steep slope where the chances were in favor of starting an avalanche, and beating a retreat which meant failure, Sir Martin Conway obeyed the voice of conscience. "I leave, therefore, not the highest point, but one of the finest and most historic peaks of the Andes untrodden. We overcame all its permanent difficulties and found the right way up, but a temporary impediment stopped us from actually standing on the top." Besides climbing, the author saw several of the mines, and learned something of the rubber industry. He thinks that Bolivia holds out excellent business prospects. There are interesting notices of the Indians, and an appendix describes the rocks, minerals, fossils, and flora collected. We state with some regret that the illustrations of this volume are not what one expects to get in a modern book on mountaineering. Instead of being photogravures, they are half-tone reproductions of rather poor quality.

—'Our Naval Heroes' (London: John Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.) is not a volume of patriotic effusion, but a series of short biographical sketches, extending from the reign of Edward III. to the middle of the nineteenth century. It recalls very strongly a book which was edited two years ago by Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, entitled 'From Cromwell to Wellington.' Mr. Marindin now does for the British navy what Mr. Wilkinson then did for the army. Both books share the distinction of being brought out under distinguished patronage. Lord Roberts contributed an excellent introduction to Mr. Wilkinson's volume, and Lord Charles Beresford has been enlisted for a similar task by Mr. Marindin, the editor of 'Our Naval Heroes.' While Lord Beresford's pages are not so seriously considered as were those of Lord Roberts, they are marked by his robustness of spirit, and add an interesting feature to the collection. Carrying the comparison a step further, we may say that in both cases the essays are written by different contributors, and that only the most representative soldiers and sailors have been selected. In this book the list has been cut down to twenty names, and accordingly few seamen of the second class appear. Drake and Blake, Vernon, Anson, Hawke, and the other great admirals of the eighteenth century until Nelson, are the heroes selected. After Nelson (and his contemporaries like Troubridge and Hood) no one is taken except Sir T. Byam Martin. The articles of 'From Cromwell to Wellington' were largely written by Staff College officers and soldiers in active service. In 'Our Naval Heroes,' too, some of the writers are qualified by professional knowledge, but the chief criterion seems to be descent from the subject of the sketch. While this principle has sometimes yielded good results, the average quality of the articles has not been improved by departure from the rule which Mr. Wilkinson observed.

THE CONFEDERATE FINANCES.

The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865: A Financial and Industrial History of the South during the Civil War. By John Christopher Schwab, Professor of Political Economy in Yale University. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1901. Pp. 332.

Professor Schwab seems to have taken up originally the task of investigating the finances of the Confederate States, and to have been drawn irresistibly into the wider field of the economic and social condition of the South during the war. It could hardly have been otherwise. Closely linked with the finances of the central government were those of the States and municipalities. Then followed the operations of banks, railroads, and private corporations, all dovetailed with the public ones. Finally, the industries and morals of the people were affected more or less by the irredeemable currency that served as the medium of exchange during the period, and could not be left out of the account. Hence the title of the book is properly the Confederate States of America, as the author has it, rather than the Confederate Finances. With military operations he does not concern himself except as they reflect upon financial conditions from time to time.

We shall restrict ourselves for the most part to the Confederate finances, because this subject is susceptible of treatment within moderate limits, and because everything else pivoted on it; also because it is the subject about which least is known either North or South. While the finances of the Union have been subjected to very careful examination by Adams, Mitchell, Bolles, and others, those of the Confederacy have been scarcely glanced at. Capers's 'Life of Memminger' is a meritorious work in biography, but it does not take the place of a history of the Confederate Treasury.

The Confederacy first borrowed $15,000,000 at 8 per cent. interest for ten years. This was substantially paid in gold, or gold value, during the year 1861, and was expended for supplies abroad. Confederate Treasury notes to the amount of $2,000,000 were issued at the same time. These bore interest at the rate of 3.65 per cent., and none of them were of denominations smaller than $50. They were not intended to be used as currency. An export duty of ⅛ cent per pound on cotton was enacted, and this was regarded as the sheet anchor of the Confederate financial system; but, by reason of the blockade, it yielded next to nothing. Later in the same year, May 16, the Confederate Congress authorized the issue of $20,000,000 of non-interest-bearing Treasury notes of denominations of $5 and $10, redeemable in specie in two years. These were intended to circulate as money. The notes were fundable into 8 per cent. bonds. They became at once the currency of the Confederacy. It was supposed that the funding clause would lift them above par, but, being themselves the unit of value, they kept the bonds down to their own level. The bonds could not rise higher than their source.

The 8 per cent. bonds were authorized to the amount of $150,000,000, and it was sought to make them, in part, a produce loan. Cotton, corn, flour, pork, beef, and tobacco would be taken in exchange for them, and agents were appointed to solicit subscriptions among the planters. Nine-tenths of all the subscriptions were in cotton. The reason why cotton was offered so profusely was that the Confederate Treasury was the only market open to the planter; his customary market was cut off by the blockade. Meanwhile he had his own obligations to meet, and these could not be satisfied with 8 per cent. bonds any more than with the cotton itself. There was an outcry in all quarters for relief for the planters. Some persons advocated an issue of Treasury notes with which to buy all the cotton offered for sale. Others proposed a loan of such notes on the cotton as security. Either of these plans, it was seen, would wreck the Confederate finances at the start. So it turned out that cotton, instead of being King in the great emergency of the South, was a helpless, hydrocephalic infant. The Confederate Congress did nothing for the planters, but some of the separate Legislatures voted them Treasury notes of their own State issues on the security of cotton, which was left in the hands of the planters themselves. The State notes were "based" on this cotton.

At the end of 1861 there were $105,000,000 of Confederate Treasury notes outstanding, and the premium on gold was 15 to 20 per cent.—the record is not exact. The notes were never made legal tender. The question of making them such was frequently under debate in Congress, but was always decided in the negative. The arguments pro and con were the same as those used at Washington, where a contrary decision was reached. The argument of greatest force at Richmond was the constitutional one. No such power had been granted, therefore it did not exist. The Southern men had been born and trained as strict constructionists. The ideas they had imbibed in their youth

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clung to them. It was argued strongly, also, that a legal-tender clause would add nothing to the value of the notes, and so it turned out. True, the Confederate notes declined farther and faster than the greenbacks, but that was because their volume was greater, while their field of circulation was smaller, and because the South was blockaded and cut off from the world's commerce. Although the Confederate Congress did not, and Southern State Legislatures could not, make the notes legal tender, the latter bodies, or some of them, deprived creditors of the remedies they had previously enjoyed for collecting their dues in the courts of law. These devices are minutely examined and suitably reproved in the work before us.

On August 19, 1861, the Confederate Congress authorized an issue of $100,000,000 of Treasury notes of denominations of $5 and upwards. It was the opinion of the Southern bankers, who were then holding a convention at Richmond, that this might be safely done, but the limit was raised to $150,000,000 before the end of the year. The notes were redeemable "six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States." These were convertible into bonds drawing 8 per cent. interest, or into call certificates drawing 6 per cent., the latter being reconvertible into notes at the holder's option.

Internal taxation was not resorted to by the Confederacy in the first year of the war except by a direct tax on the States, which was paid mostly by issuing State notes. The customs yielded next to nothing, the ports being blockaded. It was Secretary Memminger's opinion at the outset that the war should be carried on by loans, with just sufficient taxation to pay interest. In this he was at one with Secretary Chase, who, however, made a small allowance in addition for a sinking fund. The Confederate Congress did not go so far in the way of taxation as Secretary Memminger advised. It preferred to rely on bond issues and note issues altogether. It accordingly passed an act in April, 1862, for $165,000,000 of 8 per cent. bonds and $50,000,000 of new notes. It also issued an attractive kind of note of the denomination of $100, bearing interest at the rate of 7.30 per cent., receivable for taxes. It was supposed that these would be held for investment, but they were soon found to be in circulation. Prices of commodities were rising so rapidly that the notes were worth more in trade than in one's strong-box. Only 9 per cent. of the public expenses was met with bonds, 85 per cent. with notes, and 6 per cent. with taxes, donations, and the confiscation of Federal property.

As early as September, 1862, every barrier to note issues was thrown down by the passage of an act authorizing issues limited only by the appropriations of Congress. This system avoided present trouble and saved some bookkeeping, but it added to the anxieties of the Secretary of the Treasury, who knew that it was ruinous in the long run. Military success could alone prevent the Confederacy from falling a victim to financial madness. Produce loans were resorted to as a partial relief from currency inflation, but currency inflation had now got such a start that it frustrated the benefits of the produce loan by the advance in prices which it caused. Still, the Government obtained the ownership of 430,000 bales of cotton during the war, and was able to ship 19,000 bales to Europe by blockade-runners. In December, 1862, the Treasury notes outstanding, including State issues, reached $500,000,000, and gold was worth three for one.

The Erlanger loan is the next incident. The idea was conceived of making cotton the basis of a loan abroad. After various negotiations the scheme was undertaken by the house of Erlanger & Co. of Paris. It was for £3,000,000 sterling, and was secured by cotton in the Confederate States at 6d. per pound. Erlanger & Co. underwrote the loan at 77 and were allowed a commission of 5 per cent. Cotton was then selling at 21d. per pound in England. The payments were to be made in monthly instalments, the first one being 5 per cent. The subscription was opened March 21, 1863, at the issue price of 90, and was said to have been over-subscribed five times in England alone. That the subscriptions were mostly speculative was inferred from the fact that, after going up to 95, the price fell below 90 within one month, and there was danger that the subscribers would forfeit the 5 per cent. paid in rather than complete their subscriptions. With the sanction of J. M. Mason, the Confederate envoy to England, Erlanger & Co. began to buy the bonds with the money of the Confederacy, in order to sustain the price. About $6,000,000 was squandered in this way, and the market price was held at or near 90 till the news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg reached Europe, when it fell to 65, and after the battle of Chattanooga to 37. What with brokers' commissions, interest on bonds, repurchases to sustain the market, and other expenses, the net amount realized on the $15,000,000 of bonds was only $6,500,000; but this was clear gain to the Confederacy, as the principal was never paid. It was a gamble between Erlanger and the purchasers of the bonds, in which the former presumably won the stakes. The Confederate cruisers were paid for out of the net amount received by the Confederacy.

At the beginning of 1863 Mr. Memminger addressed himself to the task of getting his Treasury notes funded into bonds. The notes were, by the terms of their issue, fundable into 8 per cent. bonds. An act was passed to hasten the process. It provided that notes not so funded by April, 1863, should be funded only in 7 per cents. This was akin to repudiation, but we of the North had perhaps best not challenge comparison at this point. Our greenbacks, by the terms of issue, were fundable into 6 per cents, but were deprived of the funding privilege altogether a year and a half later. As funding was not promoted by an act of bad faith, Secretary Memminger next proposed compulsion. He recommended that a bill be passed providing that notes not funded before August 1, 1863, should cease to be currency and cease to be fundable. The Confederate Congress passed a bill with elaborate provisions to carry this plan into effect. It contained also provisions for issuing new notes to the amount of $50,000,000 per month. This attempt to brand the old notes while issuing new ones threw the currency into worse disorders than before. The Richmond banks refused to receive the old notes as deposits, and the Virginia Legislature ordered that they should not be received for State taxes. The newspapers denounced the act of Congress as repudiation. The noteholders, seeing that the old notes were likely to become worthless, now hastened to fund them, and actually turned in $125,000,000 in three months of 1863, but in these three months $150,000,000 of new notes had been issued. The total amount outstanding on the 1st of January, 1864, was upwards of $700,000,000, and gold was 20 for 1. Only $5,000,000 was raised during the year by taxation. The total debt of the Confederacy was now $1,221,000,000.

In the year 1863 an abortive scheme was proposed for an issue of Confederate bonds to be guaranteed by the States separately. There were almost as many varieties of guarantee as there were States. It is interesting to note that Mississippi attached no conditions to her endorsement. North Carolina took the sane view that, being a member of the Confederacy, she was already bound for its debts, and therefore a second endorsement was not necessary. Texas passed a naïve resolution that if she should ever withdraw from the Confederacy, she would pay her share of its debts. The scheme never matured. Various schemes of repudiation were now on foot, in Congress, in the State Legislatures, in the press, in the Secretary's report, and in President Davis's messages. They took shape eventually in a bill (passed February 17, 1864), providing that all outstanding notes smaller than $5 should be fundable and receivable at par till the first of July, 1864, and thereafter be taxed 33 1-3 per cent. of their face value, and on the first of January, 1865, be taxed 100 per cent.—that is, be wholly repudiated. Notes of denominations between $5 and $100 were to be treated in the same way except that the dates were different. Notes of $100 and upwards not funded before the first of April were to be taxed 33 1-3 per cent. at that date, and 10 per cent. per month till funded. Simultaneously another issue of notes was authorized (a sort of "new tenor"), for which the old notes except those of $100 and upwards could be exchanged at the rate of $3 old for $2 new; $426,000,000 were so exchanged. The currency had now become unmanageable. The $100 notes continued to circulate after they had been outlawed. There was active funding for some months after the passage of this bill, and its effect was shown in a decline of the gold premium from $23 to $17 for one; but when the new notes came out, it rose again to $23 in September, and reached $40 before the end of the year. The volume of currency was now fully $1,000,000,000. The old notes and the new ones "circulated side by side, were equally discredited, and continued to depreciate together." They passed in trade at the same rates. The credit of the Confederate Government was now wrecked, and Mr. Memminger recognized the fact by resigning his office in midsummer, 1864.

He was succeeded by George A. Trenholm of Charleston. The latter was not slow to perceive that compulsory funding had been a tremendous mistake. "Apprehensions of ultimate repudiation," he wrote to Gov. Bonham, "crept like an all-pervading poison into the minds of the people, and greatly circumscribed and diminished the purchasing power of the notes." In January, 1865, gold was $53 for one. Secretary Trenholm proposed to reverse the policy of compulsory funding, *i. e.*, to discontinue taxing the old notes, in order to save the Government's credit. It was too late. A bill to carry Mr. Trenholm's plan into effect was passed by

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the House, but failed in the Senate. There was nothing to do now but to make fresh issues of notes, although the previous law for this purpose contained a pledge that that should be the last. In March, 1865, a bill for $80,000,000 of "new tenor" was passed over the President's veto. There was some talk about heavier taxes on exports and imports, although there were none to be taxed. The last scheme was for a specie loan of $3,000,000, failing which there was to be confiscation of 25 per cent. of the specie in the Confederacy. The Richmond banks, which were most exposed to the application of force, advanced $300,000, and almost immediately thereafter the Confederacy collapsed. The question how the Government expenses were met after the compulsory funding act was put in operation in the spring of 1864, is answered tentatively by the supposition that old notes sent in to be exchanged for new ones were reissued, although they should have been cancelled. "Moreover," says Prof. Schwab, "the evidence is conclusive that the Government expenses during the last year of the war were chiefly met by creating a huge floating debt, represented, for instance, by large arrears, $400,000,000 to $500,000,000 in the War Department, and by accumulated unpaid warrants on the Treasury."

Every blunder that it was possible to commit in national finance was committed by the Confederacy, and on a gigantic scale. The initial one was the failure to tax. The idea that taxation to pay ordinary expenses and interest on loans would be sufficient for the emergency of a war was held in both Washington and Richmond at the beginning, but the North recovered sanity in time, and eventually enacted taxes nearly half sufficient to pay the war expenses without loans. The next blunder in Confederate finance was that of paying interest on loans in irredeemable paper. Some of our Northern men wanted to do so. Both Thaddeus Stevens, the leader of the House, and Elbridge G. Spaulding, the "father of the greenbacks," were in this category, but the country was saved from that abyss. The third and fatal folly of the Confederacy was the compulsory funding act. No casuistry could disguise this step. It was repudiation, and it brought its own speedy punishment. If military events had not brought the Confederacy to an end in April, 1865, it must have collapsed financially about that time. In other words, the power to supply the army in the field with food, clothing, arms, and ammunition could not have continued much longer. The stage of impressment had already been reached, as it was reached near the end of the Revolutionary war. This was a resource which, as Washington foretold, could not last long. The blockade of the Confederacy, of course, intensified its financial difficulties. Secretary Memminger attributed his failure to it. Indeed, the Confederacy might have survived the errors of its Treasury Department if it had had free communication with Europe; the war might have had a different ending.

The separate State finances are of importance in connection with those of the Confederacy, as throwing light on the course of a paper currency unregulated by redemption in specie and unrestrained by anything except the whims of Legislatures. The "wants of trade" in respect of money are never so imperious as when governments are issuing irredeemable notes. Prices of commodities, both North and South, advanced faster than the price of gold. This was because dealers made an extra charge for goods, by way of insurance against fluctuations. The advance of prices absorbed the new currency and created an abnormal demand for more. This has been the experience of all countries which have had recourse to such paper. In the South the appetite was imparted to the State governments, to cities and counties, to banks, to railroad and other corporations, and finally the right of issue was assumed by private persons, such as tobacconists, grocers, barbers, and milk dealers, who issued "shin-plasters" which they gave out as change in the ordinary course of trade and promised to redeem in goods or services. Alabama began with an issue of $1,000,000 of State notes as early as February, 1861, and the amount was increased later to $3,000,000. These were receivable for State taxes. Georgia issued $18,000,000 of State notes redeemable in Confederate notes. Of course, these were in effect an addition of that sum to the Confederate currency. Mississippi made liberal issues to relieve the distressed cotton-planters. All the States east of the Mississippi River issued notes. The city of Richmond issued scrip in denominations from 25 cents to $2. Charleston, Pensacola, Augusta, and other cities followed suit. Georgia granted "banking privileges," which meant the right to issue notes, to two railroad companies. Factories, turnpike companies, insurance companies, and others assumed this right either with or without legislative authority. In short, the ideal of the Greenbackers was fully realized in Secessia before any Greenback party existed in the United States. Money was as nearly equal to the wants of trade as the printing-press could make it. The State Legislatures at last attempted to prevent the circulation of personal and corporate notes, but the evil had grown beyond their reach. Virginia passed three acts for this purpose, but they could not be enforced. People considered these private notes as good as the public ones (as they were), and so continued to accept them. The banks issued their own notes freely, since they were not obliged to redeem them, suspension having been legalized in all the States. South Carolina, in her bank restriction act, prohibited the payment of dividends in specie.

The remainder of Prof. Schwab's work treats of the Southern banks, of the prices of commodities, of speculation and trade during the war, of Southern industries, and of the military despotism of the Confederate Government. These chapters are much more attractive to the general reader than the financial history. As regards the Confederate finances proper, Professor Schwab has left very little for any future gleaner in the same field. All available sources of information seem to have been searched. The Confederate archives and the State legislative records, the newspapers of the period, and the biographical and historical matter now in print, from which side lights are cast upon the Ways and Means of the Confederacy, have been laid under contribution, and the whole has been subjected to the analysis of a trained economist. Prof. Schwab does not fail to render his tribute to the tremendous energy put forth by the South during the war. "The Southern cause," he says, "evoked as much devoted loyalty as has been put forth by any cause in history; and that cause was supported at a cost greater than in any similar conflict. The Southerner's sacrifices far exceeded those of the Revolutionary patriots."

That the author wins a high rank in both economical and historical writing, will, we think, be the verdict of all persons competent to pass judgment on a treatise of this kind. Moreover, the work needed to be done. It is remarkably free from errors, but we note one on page 128, where it is said that "on November 20 and 21, 1860, the Virginia banks suspended *in company with the New York banks.*" This is surely a slip of the pen. There was no bank suspension in New York at the date mentioned, but there was a severe commercial crisis following the announcement of Mr. Lincoln's election to the Presidency.

BERKELEY'S WORKS.

The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., Formerly Bishop of Cloyne; including his Posthumous Works. With Prefaces, Annotations, Appendices, and an Account of his Life. By Alexander Campbell Fraser. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1901. 4 vols., 8vo, pp. xc. + 527; vi. + 415; vi. + 412; viii. + 611.

It was a rare event, and truly astonishing, that a man without anything like a transcendent intellectual power should make a decided impression upon the philosophical thought of every country in Europe, such as Mr. Fraser did make by his former edition of Berkeley's works, which appeared in 1871. Berkeley was, there is no need to say, already very celebrated the world over; and in English-speaking countries no young metaphysician failed to read his 'Principles of Human Knowledge' or to talk about his theory of vision. His 'Theory of Vision, Vindicated and Explained,' had reached its second edition in 1860, only one hundred and twenty-seven years after its first publication; but this second edition, a very pretty one, too, had been little read. In Germany, identically the same theory—dressed in modern conceptions, as no intelligent modern reader would fail to dress it for himself—was attributed to Helmholtz, whose real services in the matter were analogous to those of Messrs. Harper & Bros. in 'Harper's Latin Dictionary.' The compartment of the brain in which men stored what little they fancied they knew of Berkeley was their cabinet of bibelots. Fraser's publication, which was not merely an edition, but an exposition by a student burning with the conviction of the present appositeness of Berkeley's method, was a veritable event in the history of European thought. The present edition is not a revision of that other, but quite a new one, and, considered simply as an edition of Berkeley's works, distinctly a better one. Dr. Fraser is now in the eighties, and so in condition to expound the 'Siris,' which breathes all the wisdom of a philosophical and learned old age, with greater insight than he could possess thirty years ago. It ought now to be a happiness to him to find that the generation which has derived from him an impulse into Berkeleyan studies has at last quite gone

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beyond him in the understanding of Berkeley, in perception of his errors, and in recognition of his effective eminence in philosophy.

Berkeley is, in truth, far better entitled to be considered the father of all modern philosophy than is Kant. It was he, not Kant, who first produced an *Erkenntnisstheorie*, or "principles of human knowledge," which was for the most part correct in its positive assertions. It was he, more than any other single philosopher, who should be regarded as the author of that method of modern "pragmatism"—*i. e.*, the definition, or interpretation, of conceptions by their issues—which equally distinguished the thought of Kant, but which neither philosopher grasped clearly enough to formulate it in general terms. With two exceptions, we can think of no great factor of Kant's method of attacking a question which is not more or less emphasized in Berkeley's. One of these two is the doctrine that existence is not a form to be conceived, but a compulsive force to be experienced (which is prominent in Kant's refutations of Berkeley and of the ontological proof that there is a God; and indeed everywhere). This was of British origin: it is the doctrine of Scotus. Indeed, in Kant's thought, generally, there is hardly anything but his architectonic method that is not more in the line of English tradition and development than it is in the German line. Even where he appears least English, he is following Cudworth. There was, undoubtedly, the Leibnizian influence; but, apart from its dogmaticalness and its unclearness, that is not very German, either. One of the greatest weaknesses of Berkeley is shared by Kant in a lesser degree. We mean his Ockhamism, or refusal to acknowledge any being *in futuro*, or any mode of being whatever except that of individual existence. Even the Ockhamist Stuart Mill defines matter as a "permanent possibility" of sensation; but, for the more consistent Ockhamist, Berkeley, possibility is absolute nonentity: material objects must, when men have them not in view, be all along actually present to the Divine mind, or they would collapse into utter nothingness.

Berkeley's importance in psychology is best exhibited by setting down a few dates. It must be borne in mind that the association of ideas had never been lost sight of by students of Aristotle. Thus, the younger Scaliger reports that his father used often to say that the thing he most ardently wished to understand better was the causes of "reminiscence." Now, reminiscence was nothing but the Aristotelian name for the action of the association of ideas. Here is a little chronological table which exhibits in a nutshell more than we could find space otherwise to set down:

1661. Glanville in his 'Vanity of Dogmatizing,' sketched in a word or two what subsequently became Berkeley's theory of vision.

1687. Locke's 'Essay concerning Humane Understanding.'

1688. The 'Entretiens sur la Métaphysique et sur la Religion' of Malebranche, which somewhat develops Glanville's idea.

1709. Berkeley's 'Essay towards a New Theory of Vision.'

1710. Berkeley's 'Principles of Human Knowledge.'

The 'Théodicée' of Leibniz.

1713. Arthur Collier's 'Clavis Universalis,' which was a quite independent development of the same ideas as those of Berkeley's Principles.

1731. Gay's 'Dissertation on the Fundamental Principles of Virtue.' This first put forward the principle of association as the one great law of all mental action, and is, therefore, one of the most epoch-making of works. Yet Gay does not appear in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' nor in Allibone nor in the supplement. His first name is unknown to us. Hartley (who calls him the Rev. Mr. Gay, and tells us that he wrote this anonymous 'Dissertation'), confesses that he had been put upon his line of thought by him. He published another little book on the subject in 1747, two years before Hartley's 'Observations on Man,' but probably after Hartley's 'Conjectural Quædam,' the date of which we do not know.

1732. Wolff's 'Psychologia Empirica.'

1739. Hume's 'Treatise on Human Nature' (first two parts). Hume, who was directly influenced by Berkeley, first clearly distinguishes between association by resemblance and by contiguity.

1749. 'Hartley's Observations on Man,' fully developing the action of association.

1782. Kant's 'Critic of the Pure Reason,' which is psychologically, in some important respects, behind Berkeley.

This table is enough to show that Locke, Berkeley, and Gay ought to be regarded as the three original precursors of modern psychology.

Berkeley must, by all accounts, have been a man of extraordinary eloquence. His inducing Parliament unanimously to grant £20,000 for his Bermuda project is an example of this. His ardor was of the purest; and what he believed, he believed with his whole soul. We cannot, in this, at least, agree with what Fraser says of 'The Theory of Visual Language Vindicated,' that "its blot is a tone of polemical bitterness directed against Shaftesbury." On the contrary, it seems to us that that remark is a striking illustration of the decadence of Christian belief in our days. The courtesy and self-restraint of Berkeley's severe strictures upon the mischief done by Shaftesbury's writings could not easily be paralleled by any utterance of the present generation coming from a man who was deeply in earnest about the evil he attacked. Every stoic, such as Shaftesbury was, was a thorough materialist; and, as such, an atheist to Berkeley's apprehension, whatever he might fancy himself to be. As for the majority of the free-thinkers, Berkeley, who had heard their private conversation, did not think them to be under any such illusion concerning their own position. But a man may easily think that he believes what he does not believe. For example, Berkeley himself, and Fraser for him, cannot admit that an opponent of Berkeley treats him fairly unless he begins by admitting that Berkeley believes in the existence of matter in the sense in which the world at large believes in it. But for an opponent to grant that would obviously be to surrender his whole position. The true question is whether Berkeley has not overlooked certain of the constituents of the ordinary, instinctive notion of matter.

Fraser's own contribution to the development of the Berkeleyan doctrine is sufficiently indicated by the following sentence from his preface: "His Philosophical Works, taken collectively, may encourage those who see in a reasonable *via media* between Omniscience and Nescience the true path of progress under man's inevitable venture of reasonable Faith." To find the development of this idea, one must turn to the author's 'Philosophy of Theism.' Then if one desires Berkeley's works as completely as possible, one will further procure his 'Life and Letters,' by Prof. A. C. Fraser. A thorough student of Berkeley will want all that.

Whether for an ordinary reader of philosophy—putting aside the question of price—this edition or that in Bohn's "Philosophical Library," published three years ago, is to be preferred is a delicate question. The text of either is excellent, although neither, we are sorry to say, respects Berkeley's punctuation, which is a part of his style. Probably the Bohn edition is most scrupulously accurate. That it omits such things as the diary in Italy is really no objection. Its most serious omission is the commonplace-book of notes for the preparation of the 'Principles.' This is rhetorically interesting; but it throws less light on the development of Berkeley's views than would be expected. The Bohn edition gives the Latin works (of which one, 'De Motu,' is not altogether devoid of importance), only in translation; the Fraser edition only in the original. Berkeley's Latin has a certain academical elegance; but it is a garb which does not set so comfortably on his thought as a homelier English. In regard to additional matter, each edition has something one regrets to miss in the other. Much more is attempted in this way in the Fraser edition. Nothing is really indispensable but Berkeley's own forcible and persuasive language; and the Fraser notes form sometimes an officious, one had almost said an impertinent, interruption to a philosopher who is quite able to manage the English language for himself. The new life prefixed to the Fraser edition is much fuller and somewhat more accurate than Mr. Arthur Balfour's capital biographical introduction to the other. Neither biographer has suggested that the good bishop's very sudden and very quiet death may—in view of the oceans of tar-water that he was accustomed to swill—have been due to an overdose of carbolic acid. It is quite certain that the Bohn volumes are prettier and lighter and more agreeable to read; but their editor, we feel sure, would concur in the judgment that the new Fraser edition is the most valuable that has yet appeared or is likely to appear, for as long as one can foresee.

The Relations of Geography and History. By the Rev. H. B. George. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 1901. Pp. 296.

Mr. George, who is a Fellow of New College, Oxford, has been for many years as enthusiastic a student of military campaigns as though he were an army chaplain. Such researches necessarily induce a strong conviction of the close connection between geography and history, and Mr. George has performed a real service by putting together in this volume the principal conclusions to which his wide learning and accurate scholarship have led him. The book consists practically of two sections. In the first the author discusses the general na-

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ture of geographical influences, and then proceeds to deal with "Frontiers," "Towns," "Nomenclature," "Fallacies of the Map," "Sea Power in Peace and War," and "Geography in War." The second section treats of the several countries of Europe in detail, with a supplementary chapter on America.

While this book is to be highly commended as far as it goes, its value is considerably diminished by the narrowness of its scope. Unfortunately, Mr. George's military studies have caused him to attach disproportionate importance to the "drum and trumpet" side of history. The extremest Quaker cannot but admit the profound influence of great wars upon the development of human affairs, and it is obvious that, in earlier ages especially, even such a detail as the site of a town has often been decided by considerations of attack and defence; but, after all, the life of man is not so largely made up of fighting as might be inferred from a comparison of the civilian and military pages of this volume. The deeper question of the influence of climate and physical environment generally upon the character of nations is but lightly touched upon. Yet this is by far the most interesting and profitable phase of the relations of geography and history. Such fascinating books as M. Edmond Demolins's 'Les Français d'aujourd'hui' and Prof. G. Adam Smith's 'Historical Geography of the Holy Land,' though dealing with the history of individual countries, throw a much clearer light upon the general subject than is cast anywhere by Mr. George. For example, such an illuminating section as that in which Professor Smith discusses the influence of the mountains and plains of Palestine upon the religion, the literature, and the social life of the Hebrews, has no parallel in this volume. And what is history worth if it takes no count of such things as these?

By those readers, however, whose supreme interest is in marchings and countermarchings Mr. George's treatise will be highly prized. And, in spite of its limitations, many of its pages—in the first section especially—will be read with profit by people who have little taste for soldiering. The chapter entitled "Fallacies of the Map" ought to correct a good many common political misapprehensions, including the frequent confusion of thought respecting the real meaning of "nationality." With respect to the question of "natural frontiers," Mr. George has no patience with the French claim to the left bank of the Rhine. He shows not only that recorded history is against this pretension, but that "it is contrary to geography, whether the theory be based on purely physical structure or the practical results of historic and prehistoric human action, to treat a river as a natural frontier." The only exception is in cases where, in the modern apportionment of territory, a large river is found to be a convenient boundary. Mr. George suggests that it would be almost as reasonable to assert that the Seine was the natural northeastern frontier of France as that the Rhine is the natural western frontier of Germany. In the same chapter the author condemns with equally firm decision the hasty generalization—which, he says, "has been responsible for a good deal of irrelevant nonsense"—which declares that certain districts are marked out by Nature to be the cockpits of Europe. Wordsworth's famous apostrophe to the sea and the mountains as the natural homes of liberty is also keenly criticised, though in this case there is perhaps more to be said on the other side.

Mr. George deserves special congratulation on his success in overcoming the temptation to political partisanship which must be a serious difficulty in the way of any writer who deals with such subjects as are treated here. Each topic is discussed with absolute impartiality in this respect, the historic and scientific conscience being everywhere followed as the only guide. It may be added that the practical usefulness of the book is increased by the completeness of the index.

Beverley Town Documents. Edited by Arthur F. Leach, Barrister-at-law, Assistant Charity Commissioner. Publications of the Selden Society, Vol. xiv. London: Quaritch.

Beverley, the county-town of the East Riding of Yorkshire, is a quiet little place nowadays, with nothing to attract the attention of the outside world but its two magnificent churches, the Minster and St. Mary's. And yet in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, before its foreign commerce began to pass to the upstart royal foundation of Kingston-upon-Hull, seven miles off, it was one of the great seaports of England; and as late as the time of Camden, though its once thriving cloth trade had already decayed, it was still "very populous." The municipal development of mediæval Beverley has, therefore, an interest altogether out of proportion to the town's present figure in the world.

Upon this subject the volume published by the Selden Society, under the competent editorship of Mr. Leach, throws an abundance of fresh light, which is all the more welcome because Poulson's 'Beverlac' (1829), the standard authority hitherto, is so inadequate and misleading. Mr. Leach has selected and printed *in extenso* the most significant of the municipal and gild ordinances of the fourteenth and two subsequent centuries, provided a translation on the opposite pages, and prefaced the collection with an instructive introduction. He does not tell us just how large a part these documents constitute of the whole mass of material at his disposal; this we shall doubtless find in the report on the records of Beverley which he has been preparing for the Historical MSS. Commission.

There are two questions of interest to students of mediæval institutions about which Mr. Leach, with the support of his documents, has a good deal to say. One of these is the nature of the change in municipal government which took place in the fourteenth century. In Beverley, as elsewhere, the government of the town, far into the fourteenth century, was in the hands of a narrow circle of "burgesses," forming perhaps not a tithe of the total number of male inhabitants. To overthrow this régime the populace made all sorts of efforts from time to time; and at last, in 1382-6, it succeeded in superseding the oligarchic "Keepers" or "Wardens" by the democratic "Aldermen and Chamberlains" chosen by the commonalty. But, as Mr. Leach acutely remarks, the names of the elected magistrates are enough to show that by this time the "better sort" had captured the democratic citadel, and that the town continued to be governed by its men of wealth. In all probability, the only significance of the change was that new commercial and industrial wealth now succeeded in securing a place for itself by the side of the older patrician families. It is true that, during the course of the following century, the town council was put altogether into the hands of the "occupacions." But, *pari passu*, the government of the crafts themselves was becoming increasingly oligarchic, and gradations of rank were growing up within them not unlike those in the "City Companies" of London. So, as the time had passed for any change of substance, it is hardly surprising that the people of Hull ceased to care particularly for the change of name, and quietly acquiesced in the restoration of "Keepers."

As to what happened in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we are now beginning to see our way; the real period of obscurity in municipal history in England, as elsewhere in Europe, is the thirteenth. Mr. Leach has been unable to furnish us with any records of Beverley between *circa* A. D. 1130, the date of Archbishop Thurston's celebrated charter granting the citizens their "haus-hus," and Archbishop Wykwane's grant of A. D. 1282, with one exception. That exception is the "Law of the Weavers and Fullers of Beverley," which found its way into various collections of London customs, side by side with like "laws" for the same occupations in Winchester, Oxford, and Marlborough. It is a document, as is well known, which shows us these particular craftsmen in an extraordinarily depressed condition, unable to become burgesses unless they first abjured their occupation, and meanwhile incompetent even to give witness against "freemen" of the towns in which they dwelt. Modern writers have sought to argue away the significance of its explicit statements in various ways. Professor Gross, for instance, has argued that this ill usage must have been local, since in Winchester and Leicester weavers could become burgesses. But Mr. Leach points out that the Winchester "Consuetudinary" is at least a century later than the "Laws" in question—of which he produces a copy a good deal earlier than that previously printed by Riley. As to Leicester, he calls our attention to the fact that in the earliest lists of admittances to the merchant gild (A. D. 1196-1225), recently printed by Miss Bateson, there is absolutely no mention of a weaver until the last year, and then it is the *son* of a weaver who appears; while there are many notices which seem to indicate a general exclusion of craftsmen. Dr. Cunningham, again, accepting the fact of exclusion from the burgess body, has tried to explain it by the supposition that the weavers and fullers were usually aliens. Mr. Leach replies that "there is no more reason for thinking the weavers to be foreigners than the butchers or the bakers."

There are a good many other points for which the historian will do well to consult Mr. Leach's collection. We can but allude to such topics as the consolidation of the gild organization by the craftsmen's participation in pageants and plays, the advent of "servientes, *Anglicè* jorneymen" as a permanent industrial class, and the exclusion from independent trade of all but "liverymen." We must congratulate the Selden Society and its editor on a piece of work worthy to be placed by the side of

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Mr. Hudson's 'Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich,' for which we were indebted to the same society, some eight years ago. If it will continue its efforts in this direction, and the older English municipalities will but follow the good example of Nottingham and Leicester, we do not despair of knowing something definite one of these days about the internal life of English towns even in the reigns of Richard I., John, and Henry III.

Jesus Christ and the Social Question: An Examination of the Teaching of Jesus in its Relation to Some of the Problems of Modern Social Life. By Francis Greenwood Peabody, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University. The Macmillan Co.

Readers of the *Nation* will remember certain valuable letters in which, some ten years ago, Professor Peabody reported various aspects of German Socialism as they impressed him close at hand. His references are to a multitude of books which, in their aggregate, are eloquent of the amount of interest the social question in its various denotations has engaged. In his first chapter, Professor Peabody makes a careful exhibition of the social agitation and experiments in their various forms, and shows in what manner and degree these have been related to Christianity, as an ecclesiastical institution and as a body of teaching. We have had Socialists denouncing Christianity as the worst enemy of their creed, and others claiming it as their chief support; but upon examination it generally proves that the same Christianity is not intended in the two cases. Here it is the historical ecclesiasticism; there it is the New Testament teaching. The main stress of Professor Peabody's exposition is to show that this last does not furnish the programme of the State Socialist or Communist. He concedes that there are passages in the New Testament which lend themselves to the most drastic demand of the radical reformers, but he does not think that these represent the habitual attitude of Jesus. What he conceives this attitude to have been he develops in his second chapter, and concludes that for Jesus "the social order was not a product of mechanism, but of personality, which fulfils itself only in the social order." We have "the view from above, the approach from within, and the movement towards a spiritual end; a social horizon, a social power, a social aim."

The apparent vagueness of these generalizations does not prevent Professor Peabody's application of them to the special social problems from being productive of much sound and shrewd and wholesome observation of our social tendencies, and much wise discrimination as to the treatment they require. Yet, however plausible Professor Peabody's constructions are, they are reached by the involutions of a dialectic so subtile and abstruse that the wayfaring man would have to be extremely clever to arrive independently at these results or even to follow where he leads the way. Professor Peabody concedes that the New Testament presents the teachings of Jesus in a very inconsistent and even contradictory manner. It can hardly be expected that the average man will always, or even generally, make what Professor Peabody conceives to be the just discriminations. What he is seeking is the authority of Jesus for a rational sociology. Authority should be more obvious than we have it here. The truth is at the bottom of a well, and the water is not transparent, nor translucent. Had not Professor Peabody been writing one of a series of New Testament hand-books, and so been obliged to make the teachings of Jesus his main consideration, we are by no means certain that he would not have done better to give a straightforward account of his own views, clinching them, as opportunity should offer, with some grand old Bible word. Had he done this, his teaching concerning the rich and poor and the various exigencies of the industrial order would have been more direct than it is now, while losing nothing of that sanity which his present method cannot hopelessly obscure.

A possible exception to this praise is the chapter on the family, in which much stress is laid on questions of marriage and divorce. In regard to the latter, Professor Peabody's position is stiffly conservative. There is none of Dr. Lyman Abbott's miserable shuffling with regard to the plain teaching of Jesus. This is, that marriage is irrevocable; and Professor Peabody so receives it. There may be separation, but no divorce or remarriage. This is a position to which some of our most careful sociologists, with as much devotion as Professor Peabody to the highest ends of marriage, are definitely opposed. But Professor Peabody's dealing with the matter is in refreshing contrast to the ingenious sinuosities of many clerical apologists.

Life in Poetry: Law in Taste. By W. J. Courthope. Macmillan. 1901.

Henry Birkhead, who, in the seventeenth century, endowed the Oxford professorship of poetry, made a wise provision for the future of English literary scholarship. The conditions of the chair, a tenure of five years with the requirement of but three lectures each year, were such as to encourage the deeply considered discussion of the most dignified themes. Spence, Warton, Milman, Keble, Arnold, and Palgrave never gave the sanction of their official practice to the vices of literary tittle-tattle or rodomontade. The latest occupant of the chair, Prof. W. J. Courthope, has just printed his lectures of the past five years under the above title. In selecting for his course a theme of general interest yet of specially vital significance at the present time, Professor Courthope has kept to the best traditions of the chair. His purpose is nothing less than to oppose the present anarchy of taste by taking up the old defence of poetry, and by tracing anew in the acknowledged masterpieces of the poetic art the ancient rules, "discovered not devised," in which the life of poetry consists. The foundation of his work is the 'Poetics' of Aristotle, mainly as interpreted by Professor Butcher, to whom, by the way, there is an unusually graceful Latin dedication.

The first division of the lectures comprises a discussion of poetical conception, expression, and decadence, and of the general relation of these to the civic life of any nation. Professor Courthope follows the Aristotelian notion that the essential thing in poetical writing is the imitation of the characteristic and universal in life and nature, But he avoids the formalism which sometimes creeps into such contentions by laying very insistent emphasis on the necessity that the artist shall keep in the broad way of human experience—seeing with the eyes of his age and race; and by illustrating each step of his procedure from a wealth of humane learning. Then in the succeeding lectures he pursues the history of the idea of law, the growth of a distinctively national taste and mode of expression, in the French, German, and English literatures. Finally, there is a more minute examination of the poetry of Chaucer, Milton, Pope, Byron, and Tennyson to show how in their writings the universal, the national, and the personal are fused and reconciled in a characteristic form of art.

The volume as a whole is a sort of organum for the academic and private study of comparative literature. By virtue of its plan and method, as well as in many passages by the way, it is an effective protest against much that is perverted or trifling in contemporary literature. To put it in a sentence, Professor Courthope thinks that decadence, symbolism *et id genus omne*, are the reaction from or the enfeebled persistence of the doctrinaire democratic excesses of the first half of the nineteenth century. His analysis of the social and political causes of the present decadence in European poetry seems to us sound. There is considerably more than a half-truth in his opinion that, "from the enthusiastic dreams of Revolutionary Progress, we have turned to the opiates of an intellectual Buddhism"; and his advice, for the world at large and England in particular, to give greater heed to the organic principles of ideal art is, so far as it goes, excellent for those qualified to accept it; and that the number of these may be increased by the maintenance and extension of the place of the humanities in education, is the plea of his conclusion.

Of course no man could write a work like this without expressing many opinions at which any given critical reader will balk. There are plenty such in Professor Courthope's volume, but it will profit us little to moot them here. If there is a fault in the structure and style of the book, it arises from a failure in the distinction of connected ideas and terms (*e. g.*, "characteristic," "universal," and the like): *qui bene distinguit bene docet.* But the book deserves well of all readers if for nothing else than the admirable chapter upon "Poetry and the People," in which, with great force and delicacy, but without any of the Ruskinian fallacious rhetoric which has beguiled so many excellent persons meditating this theme, the indissoluble relation of great art to national ideals is set forth.

The Paston Letters, 1422-1509 A. D.: A Reprint of the Edition of 1872-5, which contained upwards of Five Hundred Letters, etc., till then unpublished, to which are now added others in a Supplement after the Introduction. Edited by James Gairdner. The Macmillan Company.

The correspondence of the Paston family seems as inexhaustible as the ruins of Pompeii. It is now 114 years since Fenn published his first selection in two volumes, and thereby informed the world that all the private letters of mediæval England had not perished. Other instalments were afterwards printed, and when, in 1872, Mr. James Gairdner undertook to bring out an edition which should meet the needs of historians, he found a wealth of material already at hand. A further fund of letters was also

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open to him, and his three volumes, 1872-75, contain more than 500 new ones, or about a thousand in all.

The abundance of the supply seems the less startling when one comes to know how large a body of archives William Paston, second Earl of Yarmouth and the last of his line, left behind him in 1732. Although he had sold part of his ancestral papers, there were still at Oxnead, the family seat, "some thirty or forty chests of valuable letters and documents," after his death. The Rev. Francis Blomefield, whose 'History of Norfolk' is comparable with Surtees's 'Durham' and Ormerod's 'Cheshire,' worked for a fortnight among these stores in 1735. A passage from one of his letters shows how neglected they had been by recent owners and by historians prior to his time. "There are innumerable letters of good consequence in history still lying among the loose papers, all which I laid up in a corner of the room on a heap which contains several sacks full." Eventually, a part of Lord Yarmouth's ill-cared-for treasures came into the hands of Mr. John Fenn. By printing them and giving some of the originals to George III., he secured the honor of knighthood. This, however, was not all that he did, for his volumes made a new thing of English social life during the Wars of the Roses. The first edition was sold in a week, and, ever since, the Paston Letters have been one of the classics of English history. We know that, in one university at least, a long course of lectures upon them has counted for the master's degree.

We are glad to say that the present edition is once more the work of Mr. Gairdner. He long ago laid claim to possession of the subject by writing a fine series of introductions to his three previous volumes. Therein he not only explained the relation which the Paston Letters bear to the national history, but he sketched the latter part of Henry VI.'s reign with great force and clearness. Henceforth it is unlikely that any one will arise to dispute his rule of this historical province, for no need exists of having the letters in a better form. Mr. Gairdner is modest enough to say that his results are only approximately perfect, but he anticipates that they will satisfy all practical demands.

"An almost perfect edition, no doubt, might conceivably be produced with considerable labor and expense if any one could be induced to devote the necessary time and energy to the task of collating all the letters with the long-lost originals, now that they have been so completely recovered, and supplying all the missing passages. But so great a work, even if the editor succeeded after all in including all the stray Paston Letters of the period, would hardly justify, even in a younger and less occupied man than myself, the sacrifices that it would involve."

The reference to long-lost originals brings in a curious piece of literary gossip. Fenn published four volumes during his lifetime and left another volume ready for the press, which, after some delay, was likewise published. Then it was discovered that all the originals had been lost, including the holographs presented to George III. Suspicions were aroused by such a remarkable disappearance of all the documents upon which Fenn had based his five volumes, and it was even said in print that the Paston Letters were spurious. Fortunately, the originals of Fenn's third volume came to light in 1865, while the originals of volumes iv. and v. appeared at Roydon Hall in 1875, just as Mr. Gairdner was finishing his former edition. At last, in 1889, the originals of volumes i. and ii. were found at Orwell Park in Suffolk among the books of the late Col. Tomline. It will be remembered that Pitt's tutor and life-long friend was Dr. Pretyman, who changed his name to Tomline and became Bishop of Lincoln. Whether through Pitt or not, Fenn's present to George III. drifted into his hands and lodged there. The authenticity of the Paston Letters is now established beyond chance of dispute.

The special feature of this new edition is the Introduction, an entire volume. Mr. Gairdner's edition of 1872-75, published by Arber, comprised three volumes, each with its separate introduction. In their stead a single long introduction of nearly 400 pages has been placed at the head of a fourth volume, and it is followed by upwards of a hundred unpublished letters. Regarding the introduction, we may say that it remains substantially the same as before, though presented more compactly. It "contains the three former introductions brought together so that they may be read consecutively, with just one or two slight additions and amendments, besides the correction of positive errors wherever they have been detected." Greater changes have been made with the preface, though its general character remains the same.

As for the newly published letters, they number 105, and are to be found detached from the rest at the end of the introduction. Most of them were known to Mr. Gairdner in 1875, and an appendix to the edition of that date gives a brief inventory of their contents. They form part of the originals which were rediscovered by Mr. George Frere at Roydon Hall. After having been bought at Christie's by a dealer, they were sold five years ago to the British Museum and are thus public property. They are catalogued under the "Additional" MSS. They are, of course, interesting, but we can see nothing in them which will have the effect of changing our estimate of the Paston family or of the Paston letters. Sir John Fastolf still seems the hardfisted landlord, entrenched at Caister Castle. John Paston is still quarrelling with Tuddenham and Heydon, is still having endless lawsuits, and is still immersed in troubles arising out of Fastolf's will. Margaret Paston is still the faithful wife and skilful manager. Almost all the new letters are records of business transactions, and the reader will hit upon little which lies outside the hard work of the world. The story of the younger Paston's marriage negotiation with Margery Brews, so entertaining an episode of the older volumes, has no parallel in this aftermath of correspondence. The fortunes of the Pastons, which had improved under Henry VI., received a setback under Edward IV. After the death of her husband in 1466, Margaret Paston was sore pressed by family foes and by the follies of her sons. Living amid much chicanery and sharp dealing, she is the most attractive of the Pastons, and the best letters of the supplement relate to her care for the preservation of her house after its evil days have set in. It has now come to selling the plate and cutting the timber. Her sons are thriftless and her foes are violent. Yet she proves as loyal in her age as she had been in her prime, and shows that even in the Middle Ages the will of a determined woman was not to be neglected.

Bibliotics; or the Study of Documents, Determination of the Individual Character of Handwriting, and Detection of Fraud and Forgery: New Methods of Research. By Persifor Frazer. Third ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1901. 8vo, pp. 266.

Here we find ourselves plunged into a corner of the fray that has so long been raging all over the field of historical criticism between instinct and systematic logic. "Your instinctive judgments are subjective," cry the logical party, "and your pretensions to detecting what common men cannot detect, or to applying what you call the principles of common sense to history, are proved to be charlatanry by your all coming to different conclusions, without any accord but that of fashion." "Your wooden rules never penetrate the facts," the lauders of instinct retort, "and your notion that one can form any just judgment concerning human conduct, in any department, without the exercise of tact and of subtle feeling, is worthy of the savans of Laputa." Dr. Frazer adds his weight to the logicians' side in the discussion of that branch of the science of diplomatics which seeks to identify individual handwritings.

The old-fashioned experts in chirography, the Chabots and the like, set out from the fact that we all of us learn to recognize at a glance, we scarce know how, yet with entire confidence, almost as many handwritings as faces. The real certainty of our identifications, even of faces, falls short of our confidence in them. In the case of writing, the expert often meets with doubt, either his own or on the part of others whom he wishes to convince; and in such a case, the old practice is to observe closely what appear to be salient features, such as the ways of forming single letters. Juries might sometimes be convinced in that way, but it is a somewhat dubious proceeding. There is all the difference in the world between the trustworthiness of an emphatic instinctive judgment, made unreflectively, and an alloy of instinct with semi-scientific, semi-instinctive testing. When it comes to applying tests at all, the only security lies in making the testing process thoroughly scientific. Now the first rule of scientific induction is that it ought to be planned and performed under the guidance of mathematical considerations, and to that end it ought to be rendered quantitative wherever it can be so rendered. Now, as Dr. Frazer shows, quantitative tests can be applied to handwriting in such profusion that it ought to be possible to develop a method which should hopelessly distance every attempt at imitation.

But to develop such a method will require an arduous scientific investigation. It is by no means a thing which can be got up for any case that may occur; though cases may happen to arise in which, owing to peculiar circumstances, mathematical tests may readily be devised. Even after the scientific method shall have been developed, another serious study must be made of the art of presenting the proofs so that a jury can fairly weigh them. Dr. Frazer has broken ground for the road which

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ought to be built. He himself cannot regard, and we think does not pretend, that what he has accomplished is anything more than a promising beginning. But even the comparatively modest claims which he does make somewhat outrun what can be granted. For example, taking Twistleton's book on the comparison of the handwriting of Junius with that of Sir Philip Francis, he measures the ratio of height to length of the word "more" as written thirty-six times by each penman, and also certain parts of the word "Woodfall," as written once by each; and, having made the comparisons, he heedlessly remarks, "The conclusion from the results of the last as well as from the preceding is that the same penman wrote the letters of Sir Philip Francis and of Junius." But even granting the methods of comparison to be unexceptionable, this is a very roomy sort of conclusion. All that is proved is, that the general shape of the word "more" was the same as either wrote it, and that, as each of the two once wrote "Woodfall," four different proportions were considerably alike. We should want to know what percentage of other contemporary handwritings had the same characters before pushing our inference further.

But, looking in detail at the comparisons, we find other hasty statements. Thus, in regard to the word "more," Dr. Frazer says, "It appears that in Francis's own writing nineteen, in Junius's sixteen, of these ratios differ by less than eight per cent. from the standard." But Dr. Frazer's measures do not prove in the least how uniformly either writer wrote. It can be shown mathematically that the discrepancies between the ratios of the height to the length of the word "more," in the single instances measured, are almost entirely due to the fact that the measures of height were only made to half divisions of a scale of fortieths of an inch, and the average height measured was in one case only 4, in the other 2.6, divisions of the scale. Of the remainder of the discrepancy, how much is attributable to error of measurement and how much to irregularities of writing, there is not sufficient evidence to show. We may add that no modern theory of probabilities has been employed, and that there are a number of small errors of computation.

We have referred to but a single part of the book, a part of extreme importance, not for what it accomplishes, but for what it shows reason to believe may ultimately be accomplished. One of the earliest applications of mathematical methods to a question of handwriting was made by Benjamin Peirce. In a certain trial a paper was put in as evidence of which the signature appeared to be a tracing of another signature in the case. Enlarged photographs were made of all the signatures of the same person that were in evidence, some thirty. There were twenty down strokes in the signature. A comparison of all possible pairs showed the probability that any signature would, by mere chance, be superposable in all its down strokes upon another, as the two signatures in question were. The case was decided as Professor Peirce's probability would infer that it should be decided, but upon other grounds. The argument seemed at that time a strange one; and courts ought to be reluctant to deal with modes of argumentation which the judges and the lawyers are not in condition intelligently to criticise.

Several other methods of great interest are described by Dr. Frazer. In the present state of the subject, it seems to the writer of this notice to be too hazardous to convict a man of crime on the evidence of handwriting mainly unless the identification be such as every bank teller would be perfectly confident of, or unless there were other exceptional features in the writing. Circumstantial evidence may, no doubt, be stronger than any direct testimony can be; but to trust to the judgment of an average jury on circumstantial evidence is quite another thing.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Appleton, George. A Narragansett Peer. Abbey Press.
Ashton, Mark. She Stands Alone. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. $1.50.
Bremer, F. P. Jurisprudentiæ Antehadrianæ Quæ Supersunt. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 8 marks.
Byron, Lord, The Works of. Vol. IV.: Poetry. London: John Murray; New York: Scribners. $2.
Castle, Agnes and Egerton. The House of Romance. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.50.
Cook, E. T. Gardening for Beginners. Scribners. $3.75.
Crusius, Otto. Herondae Mimiambi. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 2 marks 40.
Davis, Webster. John Bull's Crime. Abbey Press.
Dickens, Charles. Authentic Edition: (1) Sketches by Boz; (2) Hard Times. Reprinted Pieces; (3) American Notes. Pictures from Italy; (4) The Uncommercial Traveller, etc. Scribners.
Dillard, J. H. Fifty Letters of Cicero. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Field, Eugene. The Complete Tribune Primer. Boston: Mutual Book Co.
Florilegium Græcum in Usum Primi Gymnasiorum Ordinis, Fascicuil XI-XV. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 60 pf.
Francis, M. E. Fiander's Widow. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.
Fulton, Samuel. The Stoner Family. Abbey Press.
Gilliat-Smith, Ernest. The Story of Bruges. (Mediæval Towns.) London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. $2.
Goodhue, E. S. Out of the Pigeon-Holes. Alma (Mich.): The George F. Butler Pub. Co.
Gray, Maxwell. Four-Leaved Clover. (Town and Country Library.) D. Appleton & Co. $1.
Guilford, A. B., and Lovell, Aaron. The Guilford Speller. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Hargreaves, R. Arithmetic. Henry Frowde. 4s. 6d.
Harrison, Mrs. Burton. A Princess of the Hills. Boston: Lothrop Pub. Co. $1.50.
Hewitt, F. W. Anæsthetics and their Administration. Macmillan. $4
Hewlett, Maurice. The Life and Death of Richard Yea-and-Nay. New ed. Macmillan.
Hoffmann, Max. August Böckh. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 12 marks.
Howard, L. O. The Insect Book. Doubleday, Page & Co.
Hubbell, G. G. Fact and Fancy in Spiritualism, Theosophy, and Psychical Research. Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Co. $1.25.
Kearney, Belle. A Slaveholder's Daughter. Abbey Press. $1.
Kester, Vaughan. The Manager of the B. & A. Harpers. $1.50.
Larmor, Alexander. Geometrical Exercises from Nixon's "Euclid Revised." Henry Frowde. 90 cents.
Lawyer, Nellie T. The Egyptian Ring. Abbey Press.
Layman, A. In Yellowest Jaunia. F. Tennyson Neely Co.
Leo, Friedrich. Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie nach ihrer Litterarischen Form. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 7 marks.
Lewis, A. H. Richard Croker. Life Pub. Co.
Lindsay, Mayne. The Whirligig. Longmans, Green, & Co. $1.25.
Lucas, C. P. Canada. Part I. Vol. V. of the Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Henry Frowde. $1.50.
Luce, Morton. Tennyson. (Temple Primers.) London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 40 cents.
MacLaughlin, John. The Divine Plan of the Church. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Benziger Bros. 70 cents.
Mathews, F. S. Familiar Flowers of Field and Garden. D. Appleton & Co. $1.40.
Meisterbilder oder Böcklin-Mappe. Munich: Georg D. W. Callwey. 5 pf. each.
Moore, George. Sister Teresa. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Mott, L. F. The Provençal Lyric. W. R. Jenkins. 75 cents.
Murray, Dr. J. A. H. The Oxford English Dictionary. Vol. V. Jew—Kairine. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
Northrup, A. J. 'Sconset Cottage Life. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. $1.
Pellissier, Georges. Le Mouvement Littéraire Contemporain. Paris: Plon-Nourrit & Cie.
Seltzer, C. A. The Council of Three. Abbey Press. $1.
Spalding, J. L. Aphorisms and Reflections. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 80 cents.
Sturges, Seth. Sunset Rhymes. The Bradley-White Co.
Sutphen, Van Tassel. The Nineteenth Hole. Harpers.
Weise, O. Deutsche Sprach- und Stillehre. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 2 marks.
Williams, F. C. J. Devlin, Boss. Boston: Lothrop Pub. Co. $1.50.
Wollpert, Frederick. From Whence, What, and to What End? Peter Eckler. 25 cents.
Works of Théophile Gautier. Vols. ix. and x. George D. Sproul.

Nation readers will perhaps find a work of fiction more to their taste than the usual "five leading books" of the dealers' and librarians' reports in Gissing's "Our Friend the Charlatan." The Providence Journal says it is "worth a dozen of the futile stories that are 'boomed' into the hundred thousands." The Brooklyn Eagle calls the author one of "the greatest three living artists in fiction." The London Spectator says: "It holds the reader by its engrossing and sustained interest" (but that probably depends on the kind of reader), and the New York Tribune says: "We advise the reader to buy it."

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